New Approaches to Ilkhanid History

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New Approaches to Ilkhanid History

Edited by

Timothy May
Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan
Christopher P. Atwood

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Bottom: illustration from the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* by Rashīd al-Dīn depicting Öljeitü (under the tree) receiving ambassadors from the Yuan Empire. Image in the public domain (UK), Wikimedia Commons (commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Majma%27_al_Tavarikh_001.jpg).

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This volume is dedicated to two scholars who influenced the education and scholarship of so many

Thomas T. Allsen (*1940–2019*) *and David O. Morgan* (*1945–2019*)

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Preface

This volume originated from the "New Approaches to Ilkhanate History" conference held in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia in the summer of 2014. With renewed international relations between Mongolian and Iran, Professor Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan of the National University of Mongolia assembled an international group of scholars to discuss the Ilkhanate while also providing more exposure to the Ilkhanate for Mongolian scholars. While many of the invited scholars directly studied the Ilkhanate, others worked on the perimeters of the Empire, such as in Byzantine history or the Yuan Empire. The conference proved not only informative, but also exciting with new discoveries as well as having some heated discussion. Members of the conference also found themselves interviewed for both radio and television. The conference was filmed and later produced as a documentary, broadcasted on Mongolian television. In addition, the papers were all translated into Mongolian and published as *Ил-Хаадын Судлал Шинэ Хандлага Өгүүллийн Эмхэтгэл*, edited by Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan and Christopher P. Atwood. The volume you currently are reading is substantially different from the Mongolian volume, least of which is the language of publication. Not all of the papers presented or published in Mongolia are included. Others are substantially revised and of greater length. Some additional chapters have been included due to their author's significant contributions to the field. Nonetheless, the reader will gain an appreciation of the wide variety of topics presented as well as sense of the new approaches taken to study the Ilkhanate.

The editors would like to thank the authors for their patience and diligence for making this publication a reality. They also thank Patricia Radder for her guidance through the publication process as well as the anonymous referees for their comments on the initial draft. Individual acknowledgements are also listed in the various chapters by the authors.

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Abbreviations

Journals and Other Secondary Material

AEMA	*Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*
AOH	*Acta Orientalia Hungarica*
CAJ	*Central Asiatic Journal*
CHI	*Cambridge History of Iran*
EI1	*Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1st edition
EI2	*Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition
EIr	*Encyclopedia Iranica*
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
JSYS	*Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*
OM	*Oriente Moderno*
RCEA	*Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*

Primary Sources

ACCK	*Authentic Chronicle of Chinggis Khan*
BH/Budge	Bar Hebraeus. *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l-Faraj.* Trans. E. A. Wallis Budge. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932. Rpt. Amsterdam: APA Philo Press, 1976.
BH/Manṣūr	Bar Hebraeus (Ibn al-ʿIbrī). *Tārikh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*. Ed. Ḥ. Al-Manṣūr. Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-ʿalamiyya, 1997.
al-Ḥadīd	al-Ḥadīd, Ibn Abī. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghat*. Vol. 3. Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Hayāt, 1963
HCGK	Pelliot, Paul and Louis Hambis. *Historie de campagnes de Genghizkhan*. Leiden: Brill, 1951.
Hülegü/BB	"Hulegu, Mongol Il-Khan of Persia, to Louis IX, King of France (1262). Maragha". In Barber, Malcolm and Keith Bate.

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	Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries. Pp. 156–60. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
Hülegü/Mayvaert	Meyvaert, Paul. "An Unknown Letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France," *Viator* 11 (1980), pp. 245–259.
Hülegü/Richard	Richard, Jean. "La lettre de Hülegü á Saint Louis et l'entente avec les Mongols", in *Au-dela de la Perse et de l'Armenie.* Pp. 175–82. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.
Ibn al-Athīr/Richards	Ibn al-Athīr. *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from* al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh, Part 3. Trans. D. S. Richards. Crusade Texts in Translation 17. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.
IB/Gibb	Ibn Battuta. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354*. Trans. H. A. R. Gibb. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2004.
Juwaynī/Boyle	Juvaini, Ata Malik. *Genghis Khan: The History of the World-Conqueror*. Trans. J. A. Boyle. Manchester and Seattle: Manchester University Press, 1997 and University of Washington Press, 1997.
Juwaynī/Qazwīnī	Juwaynī, Aṭā Malik. *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*. Ed. Muḥammad Qazwīnī. London: Gibb Memorial Series, 1912–37. 3 Vols.
Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī	Jūzjānī, Minhāj Sirāj. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī*. 2 Vols. Ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī. Kabul: Anjuman-i Tārīkh-i Afghānistān, 1964–65.
Jūzjānī/Lees	Jūzjānī, Minhāj al-Dīn. *The Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*. Eds. W. N. Lees and K. Hosain. Calcutta: Calcutta College Press, 1864.
Jūzjānī/Raverty	Raverty, H. G., trans. *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāsirī, a General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, including Hindustan, from 810 to 1260 AD, and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam.* Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1995. First published London, 1881.
Maqrīzī	al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn. *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*. Ed. M. M. Ziyāda. Cairo: Maṭbaʿat dār al-kutub, 1970.
Maqrīzī/Quatremère	ʿAlī Maqrīzī, Aḥmad ibn. *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte.* Trans. E. M. Quatremère. Paris: Oriental Translation Fund, 1837.
MP/Cliff	Polo, Marco. *The Travels*. Trans. Nigel Cliff. New York: Penguin, 2015.
MP/Kinoshita	Polo, Marco. *The Description of the World*. Trans. Sharon Kinoshita. Indianapolis: Hackett, 2016.

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MP/Latham	Polo, Marco. *The Travels of Marco Polo*. Trans. R. E. Latham. New York: Penguin, 1958.
MP/Marsden	Polo, Marco. *The Travels of Marco Polo*. Trans. William Marsden. New York: The Modern Library, 2001.
MP/Moule-Pelliot	Polo, Marco. *Marco Polo, The Description of the World*. 2 vols. Trans. A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot. London: Routledge, 1938.
MP/Yule	Polo, Marco Polo. *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition*. 2 vols. Trans. Henry Yule and Henri Cordier. London: John Murray, 1871; rpt. New York: Dover, 1996.
Mustawfī/Navā'ī	Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī. *Tārīkh-i guzīda*. Ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī. Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1983.
Mustawfī/Ward	Mustawfī Qazvīnī, Ḥamdālla b. Abu-Bakir. *Zafarnameh of Mustawfi*. Ed. and trans. L. J. Ward (Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 1983).
Qāshānī/ Dānishpazūh	Qāshānī, Abū'l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. *Zubdat al-tavārīkh: baksh-i Fātimiyān va Nizāriyān*. Ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh. Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Muṭālaʿāt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1987.
Qāshānī/Hambly	Qāshānī, Abū'l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. *Ta'rīkh-i Uljāytū*. Ed. Mahīn Hambly. Tehran: Bangāh-i Tarjumah va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1969.
RD/ Ali-Zade	Rashīd ad-Dīn, Faẕlallākh. *Dzhāmiʿ at-Tavārīkh.* Vol. 2, part 1, *Kriticheskii text*. Ed. A. A. Ali-Zade. Moscow: Nauka, 1980.
RD/Arends	Rashid-ad-Din. *Sbornik letopisei*. Trans. A. K. Arends. Vol. 3. Moscow: Academy of Sciences Press, 1946.
RD/Boyle	Rashīd al-Dīn. *Successors of Genghis Khan*. Trans. John Andrew Boyle. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.
RD/Jahn	Rashid al-Din. *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*. Published as Karl Jahn, ed. *Geschichte Ġāzān-Ḫān's aus dem Ta'rīḫ-i-mubārak-i-Ġāzānī des Rašīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh b. ʿImād al-Daula Abūl-Ḫair.* London: E. J. W. Gibb Trust, 1940.
RD/Karīmī	Rashīd al-Dīn. *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*. Ed. D. Karīmī. Tehran: Intishārāt-i iqbāl, 1338/1959 and 1983.
RD/Khetagurov	Rashid-ad-Din. *Sbornik letopisei*. Trans. L. A. Khetagurov, ed. A. A. Semenov. Vol. 1, part 1. Moscow: Academy of Sciences Press, 1952.

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RD/RM	Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓlāllāh Hamadānī. *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*. 4 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Rawshan and Muṣṭafī Mūsawī. Tehran: Nashr-i Alburz, 1383/1994.
RD/Romaskevich	Rashīd ad-Dīn, Faẓlallāḵh. *Dzhāmiʿ at-Tavārīkh*. Vol. 1, part 1, *Kriticheskii text*. Ed. A. A. Romaskevich, A. A. Khetagurov, A. A. Ali-Zade. Moscow: Nauka, 1968.
RD/Shukiurova	Rashid ad-Din Faẓlallaḵh. *Oguz Name*. Trans. R. M. Shukiurova. Baku: Ėlm, 1987.
RD/Smirnova	Rashid-ad-Din. *Sbornik letopisei*. Trans. O. I. Smirnova, notes by B. I. Pankratov and O. I. Smirnova, ed. A. A. Semenov. Vol. 1, part 2. Moscow: Academy of Sciences Press, 1952.
RD/Thackston	Rashiduddin Fazlullah. *Jamiʿu't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols.* Trans. and ed. W. M. Thackston. Cambridge, Ma: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University Press, 1998–1999. Three volumes with continuous pagination.
RD/Thackston 2012	Rashiduddin Fazlullah. *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World: Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties, III, Jamiʿu't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*. Trans. W. M. Thackston. London: I. B. Tauris, 2012.
RD/Verkhovskii	Rashid-ad-Din. *Sbornik letopisei*. Trans. Yu. P. Verkhovskii. Vol. 2. Moscow: Academy of Sciences Press, 1960.
RDMC	*Reconstructed depiction of the Mongol Court*
SHM	*Secret History of the Mongols* (see bibliographies for specific editions)
SWQZL	*Shengwu qinzheng lu*
SWQZL/Asaraltu	Qiutao He, ed. "Shengwu qinzheng lu (Bogda baghatur bey-e-ber dayilaghsan temdeglel)." In ed. Asaraltu, *Bogda baghatur bey-e-ber dayilaghsan temdeglel* Qailar: Öbör Mongghol-un Soyul-un Keblel-un Qoriy-a, 1985.
TSM	Topkapı Saray Müzesi
Ṭūsī/Boyle	Boyle, J. A. "The Death of the Last ʿAbbasid Caliph: A Contemporary Muslim Account." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1961), pp. 145–61.
Ṭūsī/Qazvīnī	al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn. "*Kaifīyat Wāqiʿat Baghdad*". Appendix in Aṭā Malik Juwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*. Vol. 3. Ed. Muḥammad Qazwīnī, pp. 280–92. London: Gibb Memorial Series, 1937.

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ʿUmarī/Lech	al-ʿUmarī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā. *Das Mongolische Weltreich: Al-umari's Darstellung der Mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk masalik al-absar fi Mamalik al-amsar*. Ed. Klaus Lech. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1968.
Waṣṣāf/Bombay	Shīrāzī, ʿAbdallah ibn Faḍlallāh Sharaf al-Dīn. *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf* (*Tajzīya al-amṣār va tazjīya al-aʿsār*). Ed. Muḥammad Mahdī Iṣfahānī. Bombay: n.p., 1853. Rpt. Teheran: Ibn Sīnā, 1959–60.
Waṣṣāf/Elliot	Wassaf, ʿAbdu-llah. "Tazjiyatu-l Amsár wa Tajriyatu-l Ásár." Trans. H. M. Elliot. In *The History of India as Told By Its Own Historians*. Vol. 3. Ed. John Dowson, pp. 24–54. London: Trübner & Co., 1971. Rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
Waṣṣāf/Nejād	Shīrazī, Shihāb al-Din ʿAbd Allāh Sharaf. *Tārīkh-i Wassāf al-Hadrat. Jeld-e Chahārom*. Ed. by Dr. Ali Rezā Hajyān Nejād. Tehran: Ṭalāyah, 2009.
Waṣṣāf/Nuruosmaniye	Yazdi/Shirazi, Sharaf al-Din ʿAbdollāh b. ʿEzz al-Din Fadlollāh. *Tajzīyat al-ʿamsār va tazjīya al-aʿsār* (*tārīkh-i vaṣṣāf*). Tehran: Tehran University Press, 2009. Script 711/1312, Facsimile edition of the Fourth Volume from an Autograph Manuscript. Istanbul: Nuruosmaniye Library, MS. No. 3207.
Waṣṣāf/Wentker	Waṣṣāf, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Faẓl Allāh. *Geschichte Wassaf's: deutsch Übersetzt von Hammer-Purgstall, Band 2*. edited by Sibylle Wentker. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010.
YCRD	*Yuan Court Ritual Diagram*
YS	*Yuan Shi*

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Notes on Dates and Transliterations

Dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar. *Hijrī* and other systems are given when necessary but also indicated with H. or other markers to distinguish from the Gregorian.

Arabic and Persian names and terms are transliterated according to the "International Journal of Middle East Studies" system, but some characters, such as "ذ" will be transliterated separately as *dh* in Arabic and *ẕ* in Persian. Address of the website is: https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-file-manager/file/57d8339of6ea5a022234b400/TransChart.pdf. Most Persian names (e.g. Juwaynī and Waṣṣāf) have been transliterated as if Arabic. Place names have also been given diacritics for consistency as well. Mongolian has been based largely on Antoine Mostaert's system, but with certain modifications with *γ* appearing as *gh*, *š* as *sh*, *č* as *ch*, etc. Chinese uses Wade-Giles and Pinyin. Russian has been transliterated according the Library of Congress system. Greek, Armenian, and Syriac have been transliterated according to the preferences of the authors.

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Notes on Contributors

Reuven Amitai
(Ph.D., the Hebrew University of Jerusalem) is Eliyahu Elath Professor for the History of the Muslim Countries at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, specializing in the history of the pre-modern Middle East and nearby regions, with particular interest in the period of Mongol rule in southwestern Asia, the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria, and medieval Palestine. Recently he co-edited with Stephan Conermann the volume *The Mamluk Sultanate from the Perspective of Regional and World History: Economic, Social and Cultural Developments in an Era of Increasing International Interaction and Competition* (V&R unipress and University of Bonn Press, 2019).

Naʿama O. Arom
(Ph.D., the Hebrew University of Jerusalem) wrote her dissertation "Beyond Bow Range – the Formation of Mongol Foreign Relations in the Middle East, 1253–1282," in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The M.A. thesis was written in Bar-Ilan University, titled "The People of the Horse and the People of the Book – Medieval Mongol-Jewish Connections." Arom is currently teaching history in Bar Ilan University, and military history in the Haganah Museum in Tel Aviv.

Christopher P. Atwood
(Ph.D., Indiana University) is Professor in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Pennsylvania where he teaches the history of Mongolia and the Inner Asian borderlands of China. He has recently completed a critical edition with commentary of the *Campaigns of Činggis Qan*, a Mongolian text preserved in Chinese translation and Persian paraphrase, describing the early rise of the Mongol empire.

Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan
(D.Phil., Oxford), is a Professor at the National University of Mongolia and a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Western Washington University. She is the author of *The Essays on the Ilkhans: From Hülegü to Abu Saʿid* (Ulaanbaatar, 2016), *The Mongols and the Armenians* (Leiden, 2011), and translator of *Нум Сүлтан Ард Түмний Түүх* (*The History of the Nation of Archers* by Grigor Aknercʿi) (Ulaanbaatar, 2010).

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Pier Giorgio Borbone
(Ph.D., University of Torino) is Full Professor of Semitic language at the University of Pisa. He teaches Syriac and Hebrew at the University of Pisa. His research and publications cover various aspects of the history, language and culture of the Syriac Churches: codicology, epigraphy, relations with Central Asia and China, and the cultural exchanges between Europe and the Levant during the Renaissance.

Michael Hope
(Ph.D., Australian National University) is Assistant Professor of Asian History at Yonsei University. He has published on the political and social history of Iran, Iraq and the Mongol Empire with particular focus on the transmission of political authority in nomadic societies. His recent monograph was published in 2016 and was titled *Power, Politics and Tradition in the Mongol Empire and the Ilkhanate of Iran*.

Stefan Kamola
(Ph.D., University of Washington) studies the intellectual history of Iran during the Mongol period. His book, *Making Mongol History: Rashid al-Din and the Jamiʿ al-Tawarikh* (Edinburgh, 2019) examines the prolonged impact of one of the most important moments of cultural patronage in the medieval Islamic world through the manuscripts of the resulting work. His current work examines the intellectual life of Fars during the Mongol period to understand what was happening away from the central court. He is an Assistant Professor of History at Eastern Connecticut State University.

Judith Kolbas
(Ph.D., New York University). To understand Mamluk coinage, she discovered glass weights. Combining them with Il-Khānid coinage, she continues to explore monetary transactions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. She worked with David Morgan in London, using his book to teach Mongol history in Ulaan Baatar in 1999. Later, as Vice President of the Royal Asiatic Society, she re-founded the China chapter in Shanghai before returning to the US in 2007. Then, she organized the Central Asian Numismatic Institute and became Adjunct Professor of History, Miami University.

Dmitry Korobeynikov
(aka Dimitri Korobeinikov) (Ph.D., Moscow, D.Phil., Oxford) is Associate Professor of Byzantine Studies at the University at Albany SUNY. His chief field

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of research is the relations between Byzantium and the empire's eastern neighbors, from the eleventh through the fifteenth century. His book *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century* received the 2018 John Nicholas Brown Prize of the Medieval Academy of America. He is currently working on two projects: Byzantium and the Mongols, and the history of the Seljuk conquest of Asia Minor and the Caucasus in the eleventh century.

Koichi Matsuda

(D.Litt., Osaka University) is Emeritus Professor at Osaka International University. He is a researcher of the Mongol empire history and has been engaged in the investigation of the inscriptions of the Mongol era in Mongolia for the past 25 years. His main articles and publication are as follows; "The Eastern Domain of the House of Hülegü", *Tōyōshi kenkyū* [*The Journal of Oriental Studies*], 39–1 (June 1980): 35–62; "On the Ho-nan Mongol Army," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 50 (1992), 29–54. *Research on the Extant Inscriptions of the Mongol Empire and the Yuan Dynasty in Mongolia*, edited with Ayudai Ochir, Osaka International University, 2013.

Timothy May

(Ph.D., University of Wisconsin-Madison) is Professor of Central Eurasian History at the University of North Georgia. He is the author of several books including *The Mongol Art of War* (2007, 2016), *The Mongol Conquests in World History* (2012), and *The Mongol Empire* (2018). His research focuses on the military history of the Mongol Empire. He also practices the Darks Arts of Administration as the Associate Dean of Arts & Letters. In 2014 he received UNG's Alumni Distinguished Professor award.

A. C. S. Peacock

(Ph.D., University of Cambridge) is Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic History at the University of St. Andrews. He was educated at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. His research focuses on the medieval and early modern history of the eastern Islamic world, and Islamic manuscripts. Major publications include *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh University Press, 2015), *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge University Press, 2019) and, as editor, *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History* (Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

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Yihao Qiu
(Ph.D., Fudan University) is currently an Associate Professor in the Department of History at the Fudan University (Shanghai). His main research themes are the history of the Yuan Dynasty, the Persian Chinggisid genealogies and the diplomatic relationship between the Yuan and other Chinggisid Khanates (Ilkhanate, Golden Horde, Chaghatay Khanate). His last publications include: *Studies on the Political History of Yuan Dynasty and Culture Exchanges in Mongol Eurasia* (Shanghai, 2019).

Kazuhiko Shiraiwa
is a lecturer at Toyo University, Tokyo. He studied at Keio University, Tokyo, and SOAS, London University under the tutelage of A. K. S. Lambton, V. L. Menage, T. Gandjei, Fujio Mitsuhashi and Tsutomu Sakamoto and is the author of a number of articles pertaining to the Ilkhanate.

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Introduction

Timothy May, Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan and Christopher P. Atwood

In the study of the Mongol Empire, after Chinggis Khan, the Yuan Empire (1260–1370) and the Ilkhanate (1260–1335), have long dominated the attention of scholars of the Mongol Empire. While interest in the Yuan Empire has remained steady and the Jochid and Chaghatayid *Ulus*es are gaining renewed and vibrant interest, in the twenty-first century, the Ilkhanate may be perhaps the most studied region/era of the domains of Mongol Empire. Much of this has to do with the shift from the study of the Ilkhanate as solely a Middle Eastern entity to connecting it to a larger world as well as the fact that several of the most prominent scholars of the Mongol Empire, began their careers with an emphasis on Middle Eastern and Islamic history.

The modern study of the Ilkhanate's broader connections began with, and has continued to be shaped by, research on the great historians of the Ilkhans ʿAṭā Malik ʿAlā al-Dīn Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī. John Andrew Boyle's seminal translations, published as the *History of the World Conqueror* (1958) and *Successors of Genghis Khan* (1971) solved a plethora of practical problems in the interrelation of Persian and East Asian sources. Gerhard Doerfer's magisterial *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen* (1963–67), particularly its first volume on the Mongolian elements, laid a foundation for understanding how not just Mongolian and Turkic, but even Chinese and Tangut elements entered into Persian. Karl Jahn's studies (1951 to 1980) of the non-Islamic, non-Mongolian histories in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Compendium of Chronicles* opened up the range of Buddhist, Chinese, and Indian cultural influences at work in shaping the culture of the Ilkhans, whether Muslim or not. While numerous translations of Rashīd al-Dīn can be found, Wheeler M. Thackston's translation (1998–1999, and revised 2012) truly opened the source to others. Other sources, discussed throughout this volume, also provided indication of a much wider Ilkhanid world, but often received less attention.

For decades, the foundational work on the study of the Ilkhanate was volume 5 *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods* (1968), edited by J. A. Boyle, of *The Cambridge History of Iran.* Considering Boyle's involvement and role in translating sources, he could be considered the godfather of Ilkhanid studies in the western world. While certain aspects of the *Cambridge History of Iran* volume have become outdated, it remains the basic primer for the study of the Ilkhanate. A decade after its publication, the students of the authors found in

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Volume 5 began to make their mark. One student was David O. Morgan (1945–2019). Although he never published his 1977 Ph.D. Thesis, "Aspects of Mongol Rule in Persia", a work that still holds value, he left a visible impression on the study of the Ilkhanate and indeed is substantially responsible for the flourishing state of Ilkhanid studies. While perhaps known best for his *The Mongols* (1986, pb. 1990, 2nd ed. 2007) which underwent at least 30 reprintings as well as several translations (including a few unauthorized). This work proved not only useful for that notable military figure, General Reader, but also served as inspiration for a number of students to enter the realm of academia. Professor Morgan went on to author numerous other studies, including *Medieval Persia* (1988, with numerous reprints), which also properly situated the Ilkhanate and its successors in the context of Persian history. Although he died in 2019, he was active until the end. Among his final publications were a chapter on the Ilkhanate, co-authored with Stefan Kamola, in the forthcoming *Cambridge History of the Mongol Empire* as well as the chapter, "The Mongols in Iran, 1219–1256", which appeared in the I. B. Tauris series, *The Idea of Iran*, vol. *The Coming of the Mongols* edited by Morgan and Sarah Stewart.

Yet, David influenced the study of the Ilkhanate in other ways as well. First and foremost was his role as teacher and advisor to several scholars. If he did not personally direct their Doctorate or Master's theses, he taught them as a graduate or undergraduate student, or served as their dissertation examiner. Secondly, his 12-year tenure as editor at the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* led to the publication of a number of articles and transformed it into one of most desirable places for publication for works on the Ilkhanate and the Mongol Empire. Furthermore, his 22 year period as the General Editor for the Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization series at Cambridge University Press had the same affect but at the monograph level. Several authors had their first book published under Professor Morgan's guidance and influence. Other scholars who worked on the Mongol Empire also found new audiences, including many readers who had never genuinely considered the influence of the Mongol Empire in the Islamic world (other than the destructive aspects, that is). One such author was Thomas Allsen, a formidable scholar as evinced by his first publication, *Mongol Imperialism: the Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands*, 1251–1259. Allsen would publish two books in Morgan's series and forever changed our understanding of the Mongol Empire.

Building on his own and other fundamental studies, Thomas Allsen authored a series of seminal works on cultural exchange between Ilkhanid Iran and Yuan East Asia: *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire* (1997), *Culture and*

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Conquest in Mongol Eurasia (2001), *Technician Transfers in the Mongol Empire* (2002), and many articles. In these works, he showed how the specific features of the Mongol empire, particularly the distribution of skilled personnel taken as prisoners of war and the far-flung system of appanages served as the engine driving inter-cultural exchange. Allsen continued to demonstrate interconnectedness of the Mongol Empire and that complete understanding could never been achieve by solely studying the post-dissolution Mongol Empire regionally. Although Professor Allsen never produced Ph.D. students in his position at The College of New Jersey (which did not have a graduate program), in a sense everyone who currently works on the Mongol Empire is his student as we have all been influenced by his research and his approach. Indeed, several studies in this volume build on Thomas Allsen's insights.

This volume is divided into four sections, each examining a specific theme in Ilkhanid history. The first section explores source material within the Ilkhanate, ranging from not only the historical chronicles but also the correspondence of the Juwaynī family, but also the use of *waqf* (pious endowments). The study of the Ilkhanate is often reliant on three major sources. For the early history, meaning the arrival of Hülegü, we have ʿAlā al-Dīn's ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī's florid *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*. Rashīd al-Dīn's prosaic *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* is unquestionably the most valuable of the works as it covers from the rise of the Mongols and extends into the fourteenth century. Finally, Waṣṣāf's often convoluted *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf* carried great importance not only for its continuance of Rashīd al-Dīn's work (as well as Juwaynī), but also for how it complements Rashīd al-Dīn's work. Other sources such as that of Bar Hebraeus exist as well as several Arabic sources. Although Reuven Amitai has, over the course of his scholarship, demonstrated the value of the Mamluk Arabic sources for the Ilkhanate, Arabic sources within the Ilkhanate remain under appreciated. Andrew C. S. Peacock's study of Niẓām al-Dīn's *Munsha'āt* reveals that scholars can gain much from further investigation, even though many of these sources rarely deal directly with the Mongols themselves. Niẓām al-Dīn's work, however, with its numerous letters to the Juwaynī family as well as having received patronage from them, sheds light on other aspects of Ilkhanid history. Furthermore, as Peacock states, it assists in understanding Abaqa and Arghun's concerns about the Juwaynī family as well as some of the accusations against the Juwaynīs.

Other sources also reveal much about how the Ilkhanate operated at the local level. Kazuhiko Shiraiwa investigates *waqf* (a pious endowment under Islamic law) documents in Anatolia. This *waqf*, established by Nūr al-Dīn, the son of Jaja, and located at Kirşehir demonstrates the dynamics between local

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notables and the Mongols. The documents pertaining to the *waqf* were written in Arabic and Mongolian. The Arabic documents show the Islamic side of the *waqf*'s creation whereas the Mongolian documents lists commanders who agreed to respect the property of the pious endowment. In this manner, we see that Mongol religious toleration could be contractual. This has larger implications as it provides a glimpse of local relations with the Mongol troops stationed in the region. Furthermore, when these troops vacated the region, a new set of documents were created for the incoming commanders, demonstrating a clear process as well as serving as evidence that the Mongols operated with the parameters of law and order, contrary to some sources.

In his study "Rashīd al-Dīn's *Ghazanid Chronicle* and Its Mongolian Sources", Christopher P. Atwood follows up on Thomas Allsen's previous work on how Chinese historical traditions influenced Rashīd al-Dīn historical *oeuvre*. In his study, Professor Atwood shows that Rashīd al-Dīn based his history of Chinggis Khan and his sons on sources brought from the Yuan dynasty and covering a wide range of genres. What is striking is that while these sources were written in Mongolian, not Chinese, many of them reflected Chinese genres, such as the "Authentic Chronicle" and service biography genres. Others, however, were purely Mongolian in inspiration, such as the *bilig* or wise sayings spoken by traditional Mongolian *ügechi* or spokesmen. The historical influences that shaped the *Ghazanid History* were thus not purely Chinese and not purely Mongolian, but a hybrid that reflected the hybrid nature of the Qa'an's court in the Sino-Mongolian Daidu, the city known to Marco Polo and Turco-Persian speakers as Khan-Balïq.

Stefan Kamola also turns his attention to the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* by examining the depiction of Salghurid history (one of the subject dynasties within the Ilkhanate) with in the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*. Through this study, he also explores Qāshānī's claims of being the true author of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*. Although Kamola's investigation of Qāshānī's claims, he also explores the reasons for the inclusion of the Salghurids within the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* as opposed to other dynasties. In doing so, Kamola sheds significant light on not only the composition of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, but also reveals the propaganda and story that is being told, regardless of the true author.

The second section examines material goods and trade in the Ilkhanate. This section also amply demonstrates why the Ilkhanate cannot be studied simply as a regional entity. Rather, it must always be viewed not only as a Middle Eastern state, but one with long-standing and dynamic connections not only with neighboring states, but one that maintained connections with the Mongol court in the Yuan Empire. These connections were maintained not only diplomatically, but also through trade and often went hand in hand. The

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intersection of these two routes could be found in the Ilkhanid court, which brought together not only Mongolian and Chinese court traditions, but also material goods from across the empire.

Recently, a new school of Persian studies has emerged in China. Trained by senior scholars such as Liu Yingsheng, formerly of Nanjing University, and now of Tsinghua University, and a younger generation represented by Wang Yidan of Peking University, these young scholars combine Persianist training in Iran, the Chinese tradition of Mongol Yuan studies, and strong familiarity with international scholarship on the Mongol empire. Professor Qiu Yihao of Fudan University represents this new school. His study on the "Background and Aftermath of Fakhr al-Dīn Ṭībī's Voyage" uses important, but understudied Persian chronicles, particularly the *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Faḍlallāh Sharaf al-Dīn Shīrāzī, commonly known as Waṣṣāf, as well as a wide range of Chinese biographical and geographical sources. His research demonstrates how published editions of Persian sources are still not at the point where scholars can afford not to check manuscript readings. As he shows, a misreading of *Nuqāy* (i.e. the common Mongolian personal name *Noqai*) as *Tuqāy* has prevented scholars for realizing that this envoy mentioned in Waṣṣāf's chronicle is the same person as the "Nahuai" mentioned in the Yuan scholar Huang Jin's obituary of Yang Shu. Professor Qiu's paper illustrates how philology, far from being a superseded discipline, in reality is especially important for the study of a modern-seeming multi-cultural formations like the Ilkhan dynasty and the Mongol Empire.

For Japanese scholars, sounding the interaction of Mongol Yuan and Ilkhanid cultures has been a long tradition. Shaped by the Japanese tradition of classical Chinese learning, Japanese Persianists often have a familiarity with Chinese-language Mongol Yuan sources equal to Western specialists in the dynasty. As a result, even Japanese specialists in the Mongol Yuan dynasty, such as Sugiyama Masaaki and Miyo Noriko have always been careful to place the dynasty in its continental Mongol context. Professor Matsuda Kōichi of Osaka International University in his study "Comparing Depictions of the Il-Khan and Yuan Courts" uses visual representations to investigate the court ritual of the two courts, that of the Qa'an traveling through North China and Inner Mongolia and that of the Ilkhans on circuit in Iraq, western Iran, and Azerbaijan. His study shows the striking similarity in the spatial organization of the court ritual even extending to the ritual implements, such as the *guduo*, used at the two courts. But as he concludes, whether this similarity is due to a common inheritance or else from contacts between the two courts post-dating 1260 is an important area of further investigation. His study highlights the need not just for comparative study, but also for attention to visual evidence

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encoding in Chinese blockprinted encyclopedias like the *Shilin guangji* as well in the Persian illustrated manuscript tradition.

In the final chapter of the section, Judith Kolbas examines the Ilkhanid monetary system. Her work examines the importance of coinage, particularly the purity and weight of the silver coins used within the Ilkhanate. By moving to a centralized money taxation system, the Ilkhans increased the need and desire for coinage, not only within their own realm, but also in the greater region. Although the Mongols were initially linked to the Egyptian monetary system when they first arrived in the region, changes made within the Ilkhanate made it independent in terms of weights and purity but also led to changes in the international monetary system for the Middle East and Indian Ocean as other polities tied into it. Kolbas concludes by demonstrating that, despite their animosity and rivalry, the Mongols and the Mamluk Sultanate integrated their monetary system to facilitate trade.

While the Ilkhanate's role in world history should never be ignored, the Ilkhanate was very much part of the Middle East. Regardless of geographic location the Mongols have often been viewed as "an alien regime" by contemporaries, although their influence has proved to be long lasting and substantially impacted regions for the *longue durée*. The Ilkhanate in the Middle Eastern World is the theme of the third chapter. Of course, as part of this, one must also consider the Ilkhanate's evolution into an Islamic dynasty. In the past two or three decades, much of the scholarly attention has been to understanding the conversion of the Ilkhanid Mongols to Islam. This includes not only why they converted, but as to how the process began. While once considered a top down conversion, scholars are in agreement that in truth the conversion process was a bottom up process. During the reign of Ghazan Khan (1295–1304), the Ilkhanate truly emerged as an Islamic Empire; Islamization, however, was not the only method by which the Mongols legitimized their state. Nor was it the way that subjects dwelling within the Ilkhanate viewed the state.

Naturally, before Ghazan's reign it is difficult to argue that the Ilkhanate was an Islamic state. Indeed, the Ilkhans made no pretense of it and adhered to the traditional forms of legitimization: that the Mongols ruled through the strength and will of the Eternal Blue Heaven (*Möngke Köke Tengri*). In a chapter by Reuven Amitai, he examines the claims of tying Ilkhanid legitimacy to the ancient Iranian concepts of sovereignty. This non-Islamic avenue of legitimacy was made possible not only because of the Mongol conquest of Iranian lands, but also by their destruction of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate, thus ending the central source of Islamic legitimization. Professor Amitai, however discerns little evidence that the Mongols ever abandoned their universalist claims to authority. While some sources do emphasize Iranian concepts of kingship and authority,

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it appears to be largely wishful thinking on the part of Iranian bureaucrats and authors and a method to rationalize their service to the conquerors.

Ilkhanid diplomacy should also be considered and it is only appropriate that the study of Ilkhanid diplomacy would start with Hülegü's campaigns as many of his actions shaped the course of events for decades to come. Naʿama Arom investigates the intent of Hülegü's diplomacy with the Nizārīs, the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf of Syria, the Mamluk sultan Sayf al-Dīn Quṭuz, and finally King Louis IX of France. Arom draws parallels between the messengers of Hülegü with the arrows and arrowheads of Mongols. While on the surface, the envoys all seemed to have the same intent – to gain the submission of their targets. Arom, however, argues that the envoys had slightly different purposes and methods of achieving those ends, demonstrating that Mongol diplomacy was more subtle than often depicted.

Timothy May examines the far eastern frontier of the Ilkhanid Empire which consisted of the modern country of Afghanistan. Although today Afghanistan has a reputation of being "The Graveyard" of Empires, May demonstrates that the Mongols exerted control over the region for over a century, although the level of their authority shifted considerably. Close examination demonstrates that this shift had very little to do with local events but rather larger events within the Ilkhanate and Chaghatayid Khanate, and at times with the Sultanate of Delhi. These events included not only military actions, for which Afghanistan served as a launch pad for raids into India, but also diplomatic efforts as a nexus between the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia. Furthermore, while Ilkhanid authority shifted, Mongol (as compared to local) domination was never in jeopardy. May also investigates the role of the Negüderis, also known as Qara'una within the region as well as the larger picture of the Ilkhanate and the Mongol Empire and whether the terms Negüderi and Qara'una are synonyms or should be considered differently.

In the final chapter for the section, the focus shifts to institutions. As with any empire, the institutions of the state not only served as a bulwark to stabilize the state, but also assisted in legitimating the government. For the Ilkhanids, the institution of the *atābak* served as double-edge sword. Albeit a Turkic institution, it found use with in the Mongol Empire with Chinggis Khan assigning *atābaks* to his sons. These individuals, chosen from the early *nököt* or companions of Chinggis Khan, assisted in not only raising his sons but training them in the arts of warfare and leadership. Indeed, throughout the history of the Mongol Empire, the fortunes of the *atābaks* rose and fell with the fate of their respective Chinggisid princes. As the Ilkhanate occupied the same territory of the earlier Seljuq Empire, where the *atābak* institution was part of the empire's foundation, it is not surprising that it not only carried over into the

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Ilkhanid state but retained great importance. Michael Hope argues, however, that the *atābaks* gradually diverged from their original intent in supporting the Chinggisid dynasty as efforts to maintain personal interests and agendas began to supersede imperial prerogatives. Indeed, it would be the *atābaks*, along with other notables, that often drove the coups and civil wars for the throne and ultimately served as the founders of the post-Ilkhanid dynasties.

The final section deals with the Christianity and the Ilkhanate. The relations between the Ilkhanate and western Christendom are well known and have received significant attention, not only in terms of attempts to convert the Ilkhans, but also equally in terms of potential military alliances against the Mamluk Sultanate. The chapters included here, however, seek to turn our attention away from Western Europe and focus more on Christianity within the Ilkhanate as well as just beyond its frontier.

The first chapter, by Pier Giorgio Borbone, introduces the Syriac anonymous source known as the *History of Mar Yahballaha and Rabban Sawma* that was written c. 1319. The source is a narrative containing a biography of the Catholicos of the Church of the East, Mar Yahballaha III (born as Marqos, Koshang, ca. 1248-d. Marāgha, 1317), and his mentor, the monk Sawma (b. Khanbaliq, ca. 1225-d. Baghdād, January 1294). Two Nestorian Christian monks, both were born in Mongolia and both died in the lands of the Ilkhanate, were certainly famous clerics, skilful linguistically and both familiar with the higher ranks of the Church of the East and the grandees of their time. Although the source is well known, most of the attention tends to focus on Rabban Sawma's embassy to Rome. Pier Borbone argues that the source has sufficient details to discuss the Ilkhanid policy towards the Church of East. Moreover, Borbone indicates that there is a possibility of two clerics as a Great Khan's envoy never was presented in the narrative as it is, therefore, it is supposed that only the circumstances of their journey supports this idea. The source was analysed by comparing it with the other contemporary Syriac source of Bar Hebraeus.

The Armenians were conquered by the Mongols in 1238 by Chormaqan Noyan. Like all subject people, the Armenians often had a complicated relationship with their new masters. Nonetheless, the Armenians situation improved over time not only during the *Yeke Monggol Ulus* period, but also during their Ilkhanate phase of history as evinced in Armenian hagiographic works.

Armenian medieval hagiographic works can often incorporate a valuable record of institutional and local history, as well as evidence of customs and traditions. Many pages of Armenian historiography, from the beginning of historical writing to the medieval period, are intermingled with hagiographic passages. Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan argues that certain moments in Armenian

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ecclesiastic history under the Ilkhans received their explicit elaboration only in hagiographic works. They aim to present the saints as classical incarnation of virtues by their exemplary lives, martyr death, and miracle-working capacities. The examples of Armenian martyrdoms of late 13th and early 14th century allow us to trace the situation of the Armenians in Anatolia under two Ilkhans: Arghun and Öljeitü. The hagiographies represent explicit illustrations of their time. The martyrdoms embody the genres of *vita* and *passio*, making an important contribution not only to the development of Armenian hagiography but also to historiography. The role of the monastery and upper clergy highlight the social-political sphere of Ilkhanid Armenia, incorporating a greater cross-cultural section of the multinational community.

When the Mongols entered Europe and the Middle East in the 1240s, the Byzantine Empire was no more: the Crusaders had conquered Constantinople in 1204 and the old empire disintegrated. The invaders established the Latin Empire; the rest of the former Byzantine lands became the basis for three Greek states: the Nicaean Empire, the Despotate of Epiros and the Empire of Trebizond. With the Mongol victory at Köse Dagh over the Seljuks of Rūm in 1243, the Mongols now were on the borders of the Byzantine world. Relations between the Mongols and the Byzantines have received little attention. Indeed the most significant study has been a 1984 dissertation by Bruce G. Lippard, *The Mongols and Byzantium*, 1243–1341 from Indiana University. In this volume, Dimitri Korobeinikov turns his attention to the little studied relationship between the Ilkhanate and the Byzantine kingdom of Nicea to shed some light on Byzantine-Ilkhanid relations.

In Byzantine sources, it was Pachymeres who first tried to summarize all the data about the Mongols. Like Michael VIII and Skoutariotes before him, he called the Mongols 'Atarioi,' and like Akropolites, 'Tocharians,' but most notably he successively applied these names to *all* the Mongols. Dimitri Korobeinokov claims that in the description of the Ilkhans by Pachymeres, the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos was a real architect of the new Byzantine policy in the Orient, who with his own eyes saw the Mongols in the battle near Sultanhanı on 16 October 1256. However, only after the generation of Michael VIII and his children passed away, Gregoras managed to create a more balanced account concerning the Mongols as just the ordinary 'Scythians.' The narratives before him and the titles of Maria, the lady of the Mongols, clearly demonstrate the high prestige of the Ilkhanid dynasty in the Byzantine eyes – higher than that of the descendants of Jochi in the Golden Horde.

With a mix of senior and junior scholars, the editors of this volume will hope that readers will find the scholarship within to not only be stimulating, but also perhaps offer new avenues for research.

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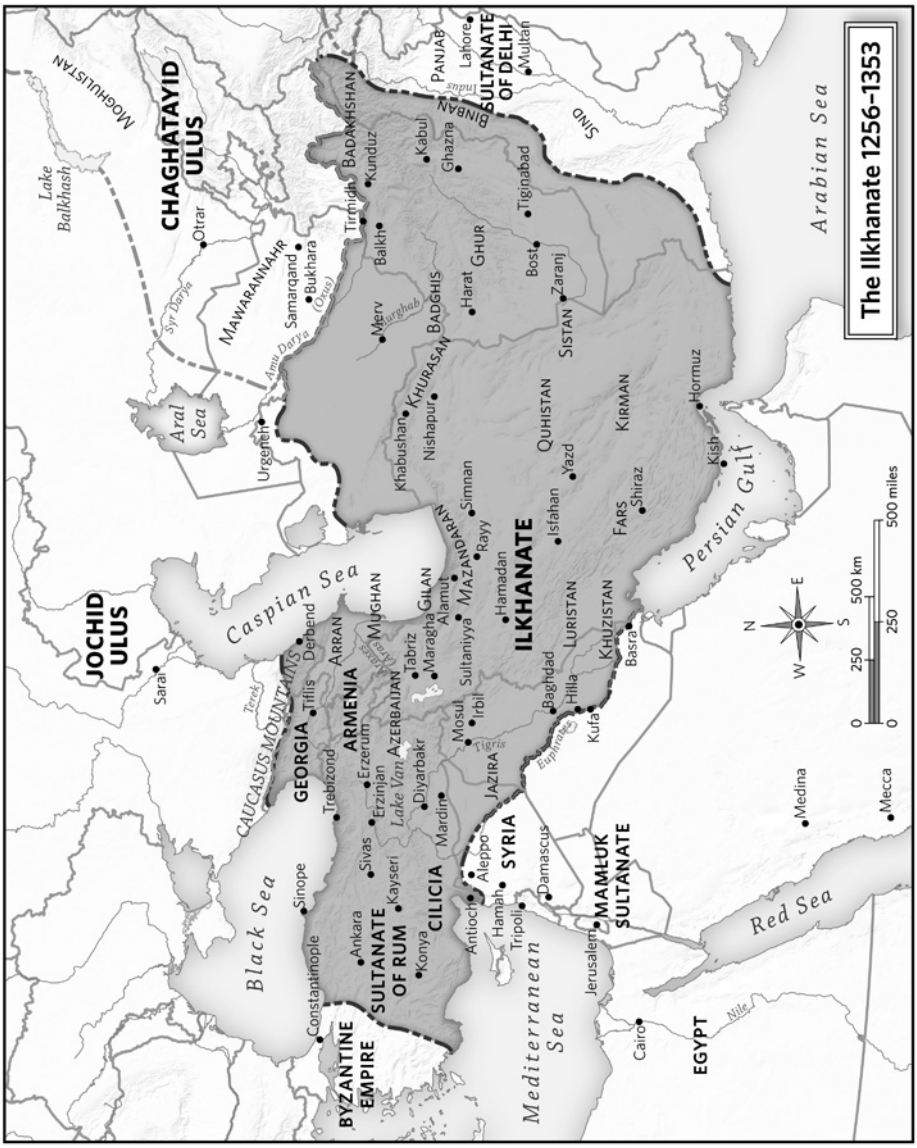

MAP 0.1 The Ilkhanate

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PART 1

Languages and Letters in the Ilkhanid World

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CHAPTER 1

Niẓām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, "Chief Qadi of China and the East": an Ilkhanid Man of Letters at the Court of the Juwaynīs

A. C. S. Peacock

In an article published in 1999, Jürgen Paul drew attention to the importance of neglected *inshā'* collections – letters written in a highly rhetorical style – as sources for Ilkhanid history. Paul's article focused on the manuscripts which preserve the personal correspondence of the Juwaynī family who played a major role in the administration of the Ilkhanate in the thirteenth century.[1] Paul showed that the letters, despite their elaborate style and lack of hard historical "facts," can not only be used as sources for the personal affairs of the Juwaynīs, but also can shed light more generally on the networks of patronage in the Ilkhanid state.[2] Despite their shortcomings in terms of dates and information about events, they are thus of use in reconstructing the broader social and intellectual history of the period.

In this article, following in Paul's footsteps, I shall investigate another neglected *inshā'* source, the letters and poems of a close associate of the Juwaynī family, Niẓām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, who was active in western Iran between roughly the 1230s and 1270s. Although Niẓām al-Dīn's works have been known to scholars in Iran and the Arab world for many years, and were recorded by Brockelmann in his monumental history of Arabic literature,

1 On the Juwaynīs, see George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 171–212; Hashem Rajabzadeh, "Jovayni family," *EIr*, vol. 15, pp. 61–3.

2 Jürgen Paul, "Some Mongol *insha* Collections: The Juvaini Letters," in Charles Melville (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Cambridge, 11th–15th of September, 1995, Part 2: Medieval and Modern Persian Studies* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1999), pp. 277–85. In general see also his article "Enšā," *EIr*, vol. 8, pp. 455–7, and for other examples of the utility of *inshā'* as an historical source from earlier periods see Klaus Hachmeier, "Private Letters, Official Correspondence: Buyid *inshā'* as a Historical Source," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 13/2 (2002), pp. 125–54 and David Durand-Guédy, "Diplomatic Practice in Salǧūq Iran: A Preliminary Study Based on Nine Letters about Saladin's campaign in Mesopotamia," *Oriente Moderno*, 87/2 (2008), pp. 271–96.

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they have failed to attract any attention in the West.[3] His collected letters and poems, addressed to three generations of the Juwaynī family as well as other leading figures in Ilkhanid political and intellectual life such as the scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, languish unpublished. In part, this is doubtless because of their complex language, but also probably because they were largely written in Arabic, meaning that they are excluded from most literary histories of Iran.[4] On the other hand, with their Iranian origin, they fall outside the purview of most histories of Arabic literature, and as a native of Iṣfahān, whose works seem to have circulated largely in Iran and Anatolia – i.e. within the Ilkhanid domain – Niẓām al-Dīn has been neglected by much Arabic-language scholarship.[5] Furthermore, while the thirteenth century may be regarded as a classical age in Persian letters, for Arabic literature the period after the fall of Baghdād to Hülegü in 1258 is widely seen as an era of decadence. The most important historical chronicles of later periods have been published, but other forms of literature have been given insufficient scholarly attention.[6]

This neglect is unwarranted. Niẓām al-Dīn was an important literary model, and for this reason alone deserves appreciation. He is cited several times in the famous Ilkhanid anthology, the *Safina* of Tabrīz (complied c. 721/1321–723/1323), but he remained popular after the end of the Ilkhanate.[7] For instance, selections from his works are found in the anthology made in southwestern Anatolia in c. 1370 by an emigre called ʿImād al-Dīn al-Samarqandī, and presented to the Aydınid ruler İsa Beg as a compendium of essential knowledge.[8] The late

3 Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Leiden: Brill, 1942–3), vol. 1, p. 295; Supplement, vol. 1, p. 449.

4 The most extensive study to appear to date is Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā Ibn al-Rasūl, "Qāḍī Niẓām al-Dīn-i Iṣfahānī dar āyina-yi āthār-i ʿaṣrī wa muta'akhkhir," *Āyina-yi Mīrāth* 5/4 (1387), pp. 163–210. Whilst this article is extremely valuable for its comprehensive collection of references to our author in later sources, Ibn al-Rasūl has almost nothing to say about Niẓām al-Dīn's works.

5 The main Arabic study known to me is Muṣṭafā Jawwād, "Iṣfahān: maʿqal al-adab al-ʿarabī wa-Qāḍī Niẓām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī," *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿirāqī* 10 (1963), pp. 69–92; this study was based solely on the Paris manuscripts and makes very general remarks; see also the references in n. 13.

6 For a recent study focussing on this "post-classical" Arabic literature see Muhsin J. al-Musawi, *The Medieval Arabic Republic of Letters: Arabic Knowledge Construction* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015).

7 Ibn al-Rasūl, "Qāḍī Niẓām al-Dīn," pp. 168–9.

8 Necip Paşa Library, Tire, MS DV 812, fols. 44b–50a, and on this *majmūʿa* see Sara Nur Yıldız, "Aydınid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity in Fourteenth-century Western Anatolia" in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, eds. A. C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2016), pp. 217–231, esp. p. 229.

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fourteenth century anthology entitled the *Safīnat al-Faṣāḥa* also cites him,[9] and manuscripts of his work circulated at the Jalayirid and Ottoman courts.[10] However, as I shall try to illustrate in this chapter, Niẓām al-Dīn deserves attention not just as a literary figure but also as an important witness to historical and cultural change in the mid-thirteenth-century Middle East. Despite the extreme elaboration of his prose style, his works on occasion do contain historical "facts" – including dates and information about otherwise poorly attested events. More importantly, they offer us an insight into the intellectual and cultural networks centered around the Juwaynī family. Indeed, they give the impression of the existence of an alternative locus of authority to the *ordo* – the patronage and power of the Juwaynīs themselves.

1 The Works of Niẓām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and Their Manuscripts

Our Qadi Niẓām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, whose full name appears to have been Niẓām al-Dīn Isḥāq b. Jamāl al-Dīn Muṭahhar,[11] should be distinguished from his near contemporary, Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Qamar Iṣfahānī. The latter wrote in Persian and was a panegyrist of the Ṣāʿid family of notables who dominated Iṣfahān in the early thirteenth century.[12] The works of our author are largely in Arabic and consist of:

1. a collection of Arabic quatrains (*rubāʿiyyāt*), known as the *Nukhbat al-Shārib*, dedicated to the Ilkhanid governor of Baghdād, ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī;[13] and
2. a collection of *qaṣīda*s and letters in ornate rhyming prose (*sajʿ*) to which I shall refer as the *Munshaʾāt*, although in some library catalogues it is described as Niẓām al-Dīn's *Dīwān*. In addition to the formal panegyric

9 For the *Safīnat al-Faṣāḥa*'s citation of Niẓām al-Dīn's *rubāʿiyyat*, see *Rubāʿiyyāt Nizām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī: Nukhbat al-Shārib wa-ʿUjālat al-Rākib*, ed. Kamāl Abū Dīb (Beirut: Dār al-ʿilm li'l-malāyīn, 1983), pp. 20–21. On this anthology see Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), vol. 2, pp. 80–81, who argues there is a confusion between two works, the anonymous fourteenth century *Safīnat al-Faṣāḥa*, and the *Safīna* of Muḥammad b. Najm al-Dīn al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 1012/1603).

10 See the evidence of the seals of the manuscripts, presented below.

11 Thus MS Reisülküttab 978, fol. 1a. Ibn al-Rasūl, "Qāḍī Niẓām al-Dīn," p. 164 refers to him as Abū Saʿd Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. al-Muṭahhar.

12 Dhabīḥallāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyāt dar Īrān* (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-yi Ibn Sīnā, 1366), vol. 3/1, p. 388.

13 *Rubāʿiyyāt Niẓām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī*; a selection of Niẓām al-Dīn's *rubāʿiyyāt* was also included in Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *Dīwān al-Dubayt fī al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī* (Beirut: Manshūrat al-Jāmiʿa al-Lībiyya, kulliyat al-tarbiyya, 1982), pp. 285–300.

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*qaṣīda*s there are a number of occasional poems: an inscription on a book, for instance, and a dedication written on a calendar.[14]

Niẓām al-Dīn himself gave this second collection the title *Shuraf al-Aywān fī Sharaf Bayt Ṣāḥib al-Dīwān*, commemorating its dedication to the Juwaynī family, several members of which bore the title *ṣāḥib-dīwān*. However, in reality this title is somewhat misleading as many of the poems and letters were composed for different patrons at different times, and were only much later gathered together as a book. Indeed, the considerable differences between manuscript texts of the work may suggest that the compilation was added to and revised at several points during Niẓām al-Dīn's career to include new material.

In most, but not all, manuscripts the *Nukhbat al-Shārib* and the *Munsha'āt* appear together. The *Nukhbat al-Shārib* will be mainly of interest to literary historians, although the modern editor, Kamāl Abū Dīb, has identified numerous references to Sufism.[15] However, it is the unpublished *Munsha'āt* which form a much richer source for the historian as evidence for intellectual life in the Ilkhanate, and that work is the focus of this chapter.

Although we have several manuscripts of Niẓām al-Dīn's works of early date, from the Ilkhanid period itself, their contents often differ significantly. The manuscripts known to me are:

1. Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, MS Fatih 3884. 234 folios, dated 3 Rajab 709/7 December 1309. Copyist: Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Majīd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Rajjā'ī. The *Munsha'āt* occupy fol. 1b–171a, the *Nukhbat al-Shārib* fol. 173b–234a. The seal on fol. 2a which seems to read *al-sulṭāniyya al-jalā'iriyya* may indicate that the manuscript had been part of the Jalayirid dynasty's royal library, and is itself a remarkably early example of such an "institutional" seal (figs. 1.1 and 1.2).[16] As the oldest manuscript, I have used this text as the basis for this study, supplementing it where necessary with the other mss, especially the important Reisülküttab 978 discussed under 3) below.
2. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul, MS Ahmet III 2315. 227 folios, dated 710/1310–11. Copyist Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Majīd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Rajjā'ī, in other words the father of the copyist of Fatih 3884.

14 For the poem on the *taqwīm* sent to the Caliph al-Mustanṣir in Baghdād see Fatih 3884, fol. 20b–21a; for poems written on the bindings of books, see fols. 170a–171b.

15 *Rubāʿiyyāt Niẓām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī*, pp. 50–52.

16 I am grateful to Annabel Teh Gallop and Garo Kurkman for comments on this seal. Garo Kurkman (pers. comm., 24 July 2015), remarks that the seal *may* belong to the Jalayirid ruler Uways II (r. 1415–21); however, the difficulty of reading the seal for sure and the lack of comparative material make assigning the seal to this ruler only tentative.

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FIGURE 1.1 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3884, colophon

FIGURE 1.2 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3884, fol. 1b–2a. Beginning of text showing Jalayirid royal seal

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FIGURE 1.3 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 978, colophon

The first folio is missing from the *Munsha'āt*, which extend from fol. 1b to fol. 165a. The *Nukhbat al-Shārib* is on fol. 165b–226b. On fol. 1a is the seal of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). The contents of the manuscript seem to be identical with those of Fatih 3884, although it merits closer examination. Unless stated otherwise, all comments in this paper on the contents of Fatih 3884 also apply to Ahmed III 2315.

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3. Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, MS Reisülküttab 978.[17] 189 folios, dated Dhū l-Ḥijja 709/May 1310. Copyist Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. (?) Saʿīd al-Thafaqī (?) (fig. 1.3).
   The *Munshaʾāt* occupies fol. 1b–fol. 148b, the *Nukhbat al-Shārib* is on fol. 149a–189b. Although this is a clearly written, fully vocalised manuscript, of great significance for any future edition of Niẓām al-Dīn's works, in a few places the pages have been damaged by water or iron gall (e.g. fols. 2, 3, 4, 144, 145, 147). The text includes some important differences from that of Fatih 3884 and Ahmed III 2315. The following pieces are found in Reisülküttab 978 but not Fatih 3884 or Ahmed III 2315:
   a. On fol. 92a–95a are three *qaṣīda*s in *jīm*, *nūn* and *yāʾ* dedicated to Tāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī.
   b. Fols. 95a–100b contain various *qaṣīda*s and letters dedicated to 'one of the notables' (*baʿḍ al-akābir*).
   c. The *risālat al-qaws* is followed by an explanation of its difficult words (*sharḥ mushkilāt alfāẓ risālat al-qaws*, fol. 121a–123b).
   d. The elaborate prose description of an elephant on fol. 124b–125b.
   e. The description of the fall of Iṣfahān to the Mongols in 631 AH on fol. 129b–130a.
   f. The letter addressed to the notables of Bukhārā describing the Mongol destruction of their city on fol. 138a–149a.
   g. The laudatory prose *khuṭba* on Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Juwaynī the younger on fol. 142a–148b (of which the exordium extends to the middle of fol. 144a). The *khuṭba* reviews Bahāʾ al-Dīn's time as governor of Iṣfahān and his military campaigns in Iran.
   h. The position of quite a few items differs between manuscripts. For instance, the place of the long *qaṣīda* in *lām* in praise of Shams al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, which plays on its dedicatee's name by mentioning the sun ('shams') in every line is quite different in each ms: Reisulküttab 978, fol. 90a–91b; Fatih 3884, fol. 136a–138b.
4. Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3174. 140 folios, dated 6 Ramadan 737/8 April 1337. The *Munshaʾāt* occupy fols. 1b–99a, the *Nukhbat al-Shārib* is on fols. 99b–140b. The text of the manuscript of the *Munshaʾāt* is in many respects similar to that of Fatih 3884, lacking most of the additional material found in Reisülküttab 978. However, it does share some material with Reisülküttab 978, for example the poem on the

17 Brocklemann (*Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 295) mentions a MS Aşir Efendi 978 which does not appear to exist, and is probably a confusion with this manuscript. I am grateful to Sara Nur Yıldız for drawing my attention to this important manuscript, which seems otherwise to have gone unnoticed to date.

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Mongol conquest of Iṣfahān discussed further below is present in these two manuscripts but not Fatih 3884 or Ahmed III 2315. The preface to the *Munsha'āt* is defective: one or two folios are missing between the currently numbered folio 1 and folio 2, and there seem to be lacunae elsewhere in the manuscript. In places it is carelessly written, for instance on fol. 84a *ṣukhūr* is distorted into *suḥūr*.

5. Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, MS Aya Sofya 3959. 253 folios, dated Muḥarram 738/August 1337. The *Munsha'āt* occupy fol. 3b. to 200b, the *Nukhbat al-Shārib* fol. 201a–254b. The seal of Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II appears on fol. 3b and 254b. The text resembles that of MS arabe 3174, with the poem on the conquest of Iṣfahān (fol. 164a–165b) and the prose description of the elephant (fol. 161a–162a).
6. Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3423. The *Munsha'āt* occupy fols. 38b–190b of this *majmūʿa*, which does not, however, include the *Nukhbat al-Shārib*. Dated 849/1445–6.
7. British Library, London, MS Add 7566. Apparently 17th century, 105 folios.[18] Contains both *Munsha'āt* and *Nukhbat al-Shārib*.
8. John Rylands Library, Manchester, MS Arabic 465. 50 folios. The text of the *Nukhbat al-Shārib* only. Dated c. 1620.

In addition, mention should be made of two further manuscripts listed by Ibn al-Rasūl, which must now be presumed lost: one in Iran in the possession of the late Sayyid Ḥusayn Āmūzgār Raḍawī, and one belonging to the Awqāf library in Mosul, no. 25/51. The latter was copied in 686/1287–8 by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Samarqandī. Ibn al-Rasūl was unable to report any information about the whereabouts of this manuscript.[19] If it did survive into the twenty-first century, it probably perished in ISIS's ransacking of Mosul's libraries in 2014.[20]

2 Niẓām al-Dīn's Life and Patrons

Few references to Niẓām al-Dīn have come to light in works by contemporaries, although this may be a reflection of our inadequate knowledge of intellectual

18 Description in W. Cureton and C. Rieu, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur Pars secunda, codices arabicos amplectens* (London: impensis Curatorum Musei britannici, 1846–71), p. 291, no. 615.

19 Ibn al-Rasūl, "Qāḍī Niẓām al-Dīn," p. 165.

20 On ISIS's ransacking of the Awqaf library in Mosul see http://www.niqash.org/en/articles/security/3479/ (accessed 11 November 2015). However, it is not impossible that some such manuscripts were sold as plunder and will resurface on the art market or private collections in the future.

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life in the period. Certainly, the surviving manuscripts as well as references in slightly later sources, from the early 14th century onwards, suggests he enjoyed a substantial reputation.[21] The Reisülküttab manuscript describes him as "the best of the great ulema of his age" (*afḍal aʿāẓim ʿulamāʾ ʿaṣrihi*, fol. 1a).

In the absence of contemporary sources, our best evidence for Niẓām al-Dīn's activities is his *Munshaʾāt*. Here the earliest date mentioned is 631/1234,[22] and the latest 678/1279–80, giving us the rough parameters of Niẓām al-Dīn's career. At least in the Fatih manuscript, the *Munshaʾāt* seem to be arranged in vaguely chronological order, starting with the poems to the penultimate ʿAbbasid Caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh who died in 640/1242.[23] A number of poems and letters are addressed to "Bahāʾ al-Dīn *ṣāḥib al-dīwān al-māḍī*."[24] Superficially, two candidates are possible: the father of Shams al-Dīn and ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muhammad, or his grandson, Shams al-Dīn's son, who had the same name and title. That it was the former is clarified by his epithet *al-māḍī* ("the late") which is used in the heading of a poem addressed to Shams al-Dīn: *al-ṣāḥib Shams al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn ṣāḥib-dīwān al-mamālik b. ṣāḥib Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-māḍī*.[25] The dedicatee of the poems mentioning Bahāʾ al-Dīn *ṣāḥib al-dīwān al-māḍī* is thus Bahāʾ al-Dīn the elder (d. 1253–4), father of the two famous brothers, who acted as governor of Khurāsān for the Mongol commanders in the west, Chin-Temür, Körgüz and Arghun Aqa, in the years before Hülegü's establishment of the Ilkhanate.

Several poems and letters are addressed to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī, the famous historian and governor of Baghdād,[26] and also the dedicatee of the *Nukhbat al-Sharib*. Others are composed for his brother, Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, the *ṣāḥib-dīwān* (chief minister) of the Ilkhanate (d. 683/1284).[27] There is also a poem to Shams al-Dīn which was written on a copy of the *Kimyā al-Saʿāda* (possibly the famous Persian text by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī, the *Kimyā-yi Saʿādat*) which Niẓām al-Dīn presented to the vizier's library (*li-khizānat*

21 A comprehensive list of references to Niẓām al-Dīn in the medieval sources can be found in Ibn al-Rasūl, "Qāḍī Niẓām al-Dīn".

22 Reisülküttab 978, fol. 129a–b.

23 The panegyrics to al-Mustanṣir were published in Jawwād, "Iṣfahān: maʿqal al-adab al-ʿarabī".

24 Fatih 3884, fols. 21b–30a.

25 Fatih 3884, fol. 74a.

26 Fatih 3884, fols. 42b–50a; 50a–56b; 56b–59b (all letters with *qaṣīda*s); fol. 59b–60b *rubāʿiyyāt*; fol. 60b–64a, 64a–64b (letters); 65a–66b, 66b–68b, 68b–71b (*qaṣīda*s); 71b–74a (*qaṣīda* prefacing a letter). On ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik see George Lane, "Jovayni, ʿAlāʾ al-Din," *EIr*, vol. 15, pp. 63–8.

27 Fatih 3884, fols. 74a–76b, 76b–82b, 82b–85b (*qaṣīda*s and letters); fol. 86b–87b (*qaṣīda*), 87b–90b (Persian *qaṣīda* followed by Arabic one). On Shams al-Dīn see Michal Biran, "Jovayni, Ṣāḥeb-Divān," *EIr*, vol. 15, pp. 71–4.

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mawlā al-muʿaẓẓam qadruhu/Shams al-mamālik ṣāḥib al-dīwān).[28] One poem addresses one of Shams al-Dīn's sons, Hārūn,[29] but many more items, both letters and *qaṣīda*s, are dedicated to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad the younger. Shams al-Dīn's son Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad was a controversial figure who served as governor of Iṣfahān, and had a penchant for both strict enforcement of the *sharīʿa* and riotous drinking parties.[30] The latter aspect, naturally, is not reflected in Niẓām al-Dīn's encomia. In addition to the panegyric in praise of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad's generosity to the shrine at Mashhad in 670/1271–2, there is a hyperbolic description of his palace at Iṣfahān;[31] a complaint by the poet of his poverty, doubtless seeking greater rewards from Bahāʾ al-Dīn, and a *marthiyya* on Bahāʾ al-Dīn's death in Iṣfahān in Shaʿban 678/December 1279–January 1280.[32] The long *khuṭba* (sermon) on Bahāʾ al-Dīn the younger's career in MS Reisülküttab 978 (fols. 142a–148b) further suggests Niẓām al-Dīn's close relationship with this member of the Juwaynī family, and is an important historical source in its own right which deserves detailed investigation separately.

The Juwaynīs were clearly Niẓām al-Dīn's main patrons, with over half of the *Munshaʾāt* addressed to one or other member of the family. However, they were not the only ones. As mentioned above, some early poems are dedicated to the ʿAbbasid Caliph al-Mustanṣir and his vizier. Niẓām al-Dīn sent two poems to the leading Shīʿī scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, one being a description of the famous observatory that Ṭūsī had built at Marāgha.[33] Shams al-Dīn Qazwīnī, who played an important role in encouraging Hülegü's attack on the Ismāʿīlīs, is the subject of a few poems and letters,[34] as is a certain Taj al-Dīn Qazwīnī. Other dedicatees include Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, a Shīʿī scholar and secretary to Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī in Baghdād,[35] a certain ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-ṣāḥib Jamāl al-Dīn al-Tafrishī[36] and Zayn al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī.[37] The content of the letters is often very vague, the point being to show the author's literary mastery rather to transact business. Indeed, many of Niẓām al-Dīn's

28 Fatih 3884, fols. 171a–b.

29 Fatih 3884, fols. 103a–105b.

30 Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, pp. 197–9.

31 Fatih 3884, fols. 97a–100a.

32 Fatih 3884, fols. 100a–103a.

33 Fatih 3884, fols. 106a–111b. The text of this *qaṣīda* was published by Aydın Sayılı, "Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī wa Raṣadkhāna-yi Marāgha," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 14/1–2 (1956), p. 13.

34 On him see further Lane, *A Persian Renaissance*, pp. 16, 24; Minhāj-i Sirāj Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1363), vol. 2, pp. 181–2.

35 Fatih 3884, fol. 118a; on him, also known as ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Irbīlī, see Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, sv.

36 Fatih 3884, fol. 126b.

37 Fatih 3884, fol. 131b.

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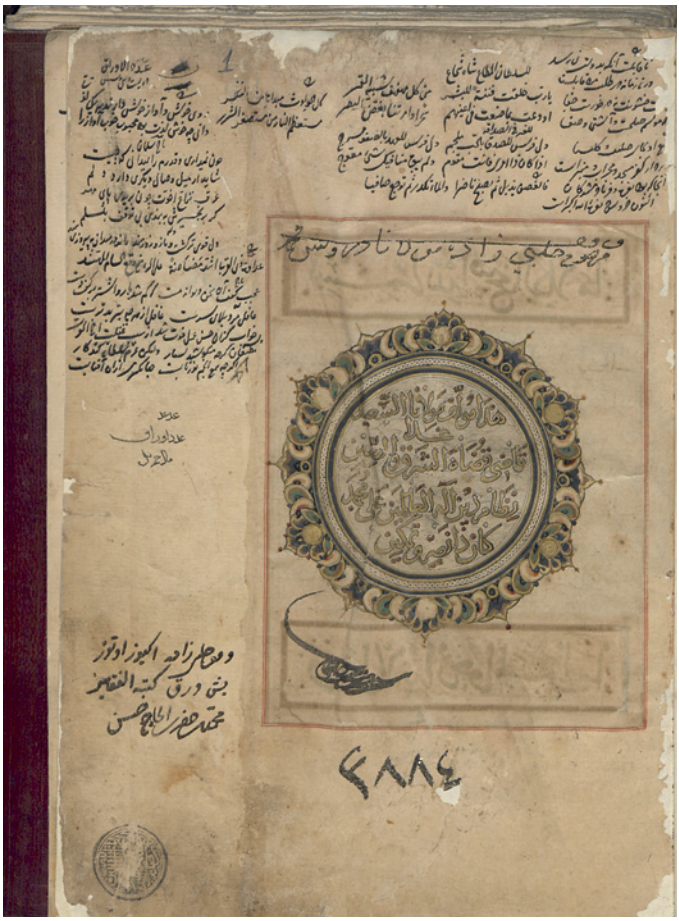

FIGURE 1.4 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3884, *shamsa* (fol. 1a)

pieces are purely literary exercises, such as his *Munāẓarat al-sayf wa-l-qalam* ("Dispute Between the Sword and the Pen"),[38] a rhetorical description of a rose,[39] and the *Risālat al-qaws* ("Epistle on the Bow") which was a response to a piece by the well-known Persian poet Kamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 635/1237).[40] One influence on his style was doubtless the famous Arabic litterateur Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1007), inventor of the *maqāma*, to which several of these pieces bear a resemblance. Niẓām al-Dīn calls his prose description

38 Fatih 3884, fols. 89b–95b.

39 Fatih 3884, fols. 144b–148a.

40 Fatih 3884, fols. 152a–159b. On him see David Durand-Guédy, "Kamāl al-Din Eṣfahānī," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London and Costa Mesa, 1982–), vol. 15, pp. 414–7.

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of the elephant a *maqāma*,[41] while in the preface, verses by Badīʿ al-Zamān are quoted, with Niẓām al-Dīn implicitly comparing his situation with that in which his predecessor found himself, forced to abandon civilization to seek his fortune with the Turkic nomads.[42]

Especially intriguing information about Niẓām al-Dīn is provided by the *shamsa* at the frontispiece of MS Fatih 3884 (fig. 1.4), which gives him the titles of 'Chief Qadi of China and the East' (*qāḍī quḍāt al-sharq wa-l-Ṣīn*).[43]

This title is not to my knowledge attested elsewhere in the west of Iran in the Mongol period. However, a very similar title, *muftī al-sharq wa'l-Ṣīn*, is found in epitaphs of religious dignitaries from Bukhārā in pre-Mongol times, under Qara Khitan hegemony.[44] It is unclear, however, who bestowed such a title, and whether it was officially awarded by the Ilkhanid or Qara Khitan regime; perhaps these steppe empires based in the east granted such honorifics to helpful local officials, or possibly they reflect a purely local acclaim. It is true that in Mongol China there was an office of *shaykh al-islām*, who was leader of the Muslim community there,[45] but there is no evidence that Niẓām al-Dīn ever set foot there. Most of the locations mentioned in his *Munsha'āt* are in western Iran or Iraq – Iṣfahān, Baghdād, Kāshān, and Tabrīz. There is little reason to believe he ever left the Ilkhanate, and indeed the only direct evidence for him travelling anywhere is in a poem, which refers to a journey to Tabrīz to rescue some Muslims who had been captured by Christians, for whom he and the *ṣāḥib-dīwān* interceded at the *ordo*.[46] Nonetheless, his title is intriguing evidence of the continuities between Qara Khitai and Mongol practice, and it may also be significant that Niẓām al-Dīn wrote a letter to the notables of Bukhārā on the destruction of their city, perhaps indicating a personal association with the same place where the title is attested in Qara Khitan times.

At any rate, given that the manuscript Fatih 3884 was produced during Ilkhanid rule, and bears a royal seal stamp, Niẓām al-Dīn's title deserves taking seriously, even if its exact significance is unclear. One further explanation for it might be found in Niẓām al-Dīn's association with the Juwaynī family, members of which, in the course of their service to the Mongols, travelled east on

41 Reisülkūttab 978, fol. 124b.

42 Fatih 3884, fol. 4b: *a-bādiyata l-aʿrābi ahluka innani bi-bādiyati l-atrāki nīṭat ʿalāʾiqī*.

43 In full the *shamsa* reads: *hadhā muʾallaf mawlānā al-saʿīd ghadā qāḍī quḍāt al-sharq wa-l-Ṣīn Niẓām dīn ilāh ʿAlī Muḥammad kāna dhā naṣr wa-tamkīn*.

44 Michal Biran, "Scholarship and Science under the Qara-Khitai," in *The Coming of the Mongols* (*The Idea of Iran*, vol. VII), eds. David O. Morgan and Sarah Stewart (London: I. B. Tauris, 2018), p. 63.

45 Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 143.

46 Fatih 3884, fols. 170b–171a.

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occasion. ʿAṭā Malik, in his own words, "several times visited Transoxiana and Turkestan to the confines of Machin and farthest China, which is the site of the throne of the kingdom …"[47] ʿAṭā Malik states that he spent ten years "in foreign lands."[48] Perhaps more relevant is the career of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad the elder, who had been obliged to travel to Mongolia to attend Ögödei's court around 1235–6. Indeed, it was Ögödei who appointed Bahāʾ al-Dīn *ṣāḥib-dīwān* of all the western territories of the empire.[49] Moreover, during his absence, ʿAṭā Malik tells us that Bahāʾ al-Dīn "left the late Nizam ad-Din as his deputy in the Divan."[50] This Niẓām al-Dīn is not identified in any other way, but we might speculate that he is indeed identical with our Niẓām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, who may have been awarded the august title of "Chief Qadi of China and the East" as a reward for his successful deputising for Bahāʾ al-Dīn. This would place our Niẓām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī's death somewhere between December 1279, the latest date in the *Munshaʾāt*, referring to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad the younger's death, and Juwaynī's own death in 1283. It would also suggest that in fact ʿAṭā Malik continued revising the text of his history until the end of his life.

3 Reflections on Life in the Ilkhanate from the *Munshaʾāt*

Despite their rhetorical obscurity, Niẓām al-Dīn's *Munshaʾāt* often contain information that sheds new light on life in the Ilkhanate. One poem[51] offers a description of the Mongol conquest of Iṣfahān, to which Niẓām al-Dīn was a witness, losing family and friends in the violent siege. The prose introduction to the poem also gives a date for the fall of Iṣfahān, not attested elsewhere – Ramaḍān 631/June 1234.[52] This date confirms exactly the statement of Jūzjānī

47 Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, vol. 1, p. 6; Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 9–10.

48 Loc cit.

49 Rajabzade, "Jovayni family".

50 Juwaynī/ Qazwīnī, vol. 2, p. 223; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 487.

51 Aya Sofya 3959, fol. 164a–165a; Paris, MS arabe 3174, fol. 83a–84a; Reisülküttab 978, fol. 129a–b. The poem was written as a *muʿārada* to one by al-ʿAmīd al-Fārisī, starting *man yablughunna ḥamāmātin bi-baṭḥāʾi*.

52 On the Mongol conquest of Isfahan see: John Andrew Boyle, "The Capture of Isfahan by the Mongols" in *La Persia nel Medioevo* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1971), pp. 331–6; John E. Woods, "A Note on the Mongol Capture of Isfahan," *JNES* 36/i (1977), pp. 49–51; and most recently David Durand-Guédy, *Iranian Elites and Turkish Rulers: A History of Isfahan in the Saljuq Period* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 295–6. The source discussed by Woods, the account in Ibn Abī-l-Ḥaddād's *Nahj al-Balāgha*, gives the date of the conquest as 633/1235–6. Ibn Abī-l-Ḥaddād's account attributes the conquest rather to divisions among the Isfahani populace. However, although a contemporary, he was writing from Baghdād, which may explain the discrepancy in date with our eyewitness source, Niẓām al-Dīn's poem.

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FIGURE 1.5A MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 978, fol. 129a: the poem on the Mongol conquest of Iṣfahān

FIGURE 1.5B MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 978, fol. 130a: the poem on the Mongol conquest of Iṣfahān

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that the Mongol conquest of Iṣfahān took place fifteen years after their original eruption in 616/1220 (counting by hijri years).[53]

The latter part of the poem gives some impression of the conquest:

فَارَقْتُهُ وشَرَارُ الشَّرِّ مُشْتَعِلٌ ... وَشُبَّ فِي أَرْضِ جَيَّ نَارُ دَهْيَاءِ

وَصَبَّحَتْهَا جُيُوشِ التُّرْكِ تُوسِعُهَا ... مَا شِيتَ قَتْلاً وَاسْرًا بَرْحَ اَرزاء

نَعَمْ أَحَاطُوا بِهَا كَالهَالَةِ اِكْتَنَفَتْ ... بِدَارَةٍ فِي جنُوبِ الأُفُقِ كَلْفَاءِ

أَقْبَلْنَ بالسّمْرِ وَالأَعْلاَمِ حَامِلَةً ... أَضْعَافَ مَا ثَمَّ مِنْ شَوْكٍ وَشَجْرَاءِ

لا الطَّيْرُ فِي الجَوِّ يَنْجُو مِنْ سِهَامِهِم ... وَلا الوُعولُ ثَوَتْ فِي رَاسِ حَلْفَاءِ

تَخْشَى زَلازِلَ صَخْرِ المَنْجَنِيقِ ... اذَا مَدُّوا وَصَاحُوا هَيَّا رَبَّا لِاَرْخَاءِ

كَمْ مِنْ رُؤوسٍ غَدَنْ شَتَّى قَبَايِلهَا ... تُرْمِينَ جَمَاجِمُهَا مِنْهُمْ بِارْحَاءِ

خَطَارَةٌ كَفَتِيقٍ هَائِجٍ قَطِمٍ ... سَاخَتْ قَوَائِمُهَا مَا بَيْنَ قَرْنَاءِ

أَوفِي عَلِي السُورِ والجُدْرَانِ ... يُقْعِلُهَا مِنْ كُلِّ رَاسِيَةِ الاركَانِ شَمَّاءِ

أَنَّهَا وَالصُخُورِ الصُمِّ تَقْرَعُهَا ... عِرْضٌ أُحِيلَ عَلَيْهِ كُلُّ شَنْعَاءِ

لَقُوا العَجَاجَ عَلَيْهَا فِي اَنْهَارِ دَمٍ ... تَلَبَّدَ النَّقْعُ يَحْكِي صَوْبَ وَطْفَاءِ

فَاصْبَحَتَ وَهِيَ عَيْنُ الاَرْضِ دَامِيَةً ... تُخَالُ سَاحَتُهَا اَجْفَانُ رَمْلاَءِ

I left [Iṣfahān] when the sparks of evil were kindled, and the fire of disaster flamed up in the land of Jayy [i.e. Iṣfahān]

The Mongol armies [*juyūsh al-turk*] attacked it, meting out to it what they wanted in terms of killing, captivity and grief at the calamity.

Yea, they surrounded it like a halo surrounding the moon with a reddish-brown aureole in the south of the horizon.

They came carrying spears and flags, double as much as there was of thorn and thicket.[54]

Neither is the bird in the air safe from their arrows, nor is the wild goat [able to] rest in the long grass on high.

53 Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, 189–90.

54 I.e. the spears and flags were so thick that the army was like a forest.

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The earthquakes caused by the rocks of their mangonels are to be feared, when they pull them crying, 'Hey ho, let it loose!'
How many heads have ended up separated from their skull bones, their skulls boasting of them on the rugged ground!
A mangonel is like a large, aggressive, biting camel, its arm blocks are lowered between the two horns [of its frame],
Rising above the walls and enceinte, uprooting them from every proud and firm bastion.
When [the city] is struck by massive rocks, it is as if it is a reputation which every disgrace has befallen.
They wrapped around it dust in rivers of blood, dust which was so thick it resembled a heavy cloud.
She [Iṣfahān], although she is the choicest part of the world, became covered in blood; her space was turned into piles of sand.[55]

Other poems suggest the rise of ʿAlid piety in the period, and shed an interesting light on contemporary accusations that the Juwaynī family had a prediction for Shiʿism. Certainly, a *qaṣīda* in praise of the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) suggests its author's attachment to the ʿAlids:

لله دَرُّكم يَا آلِ يَاسِينَا يَا انجُم الحَقِّ اعلام الهُدَى فِينَا
لا يَقبَل اللهُ اِلا في محبَّتِكم اعمال عَبْدٍ ولَا يَرضَى لَه دِينَا
اَرجو النجاةَ بكم يَومَ المعَادِ وَان جنَت يَدَاي مِنَ الذَنب الافانِينا

Your abundance comes from God, O family of the Prophet! O stars of Truth, waymarks of guidance in us!
It is only for love of you that God accepts the deeds of a servant with whose faith he is not satisfied.
I seek salvation through you on the Day of Resurrection, even if I have sinned in deed often.

This poem also praises Bahāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī's gift of a curtain (*sitāra*) to the shrine of ʿAlī al-Riḍā at Mashhad (*al-mashhad al-muqaddas*) in 670/1271–2.[56] Indeed, Niẓām al-Dīn goes so far as to praise Mongol rule for restoring the status of the *ahl al-bayt*:

55 I.e. it is deserted by humans, only animals survive there.
56 Fatih 3884, fols. 95b–97a.

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قُل للنَواصِب كُفُّوا لَا ابَا لَكُم لِشيعَةِ الحَقِّ يَأبَى اللهُ تَهوِينَا
اعَادَ عَهْدُ مُلوكِ التُّركِ رَونَقَهم وَ زَادَهُم بَهاءُ الدِّينِ تَمكِينَا
هَذَا ابنُ صَاحِبِ دِيوَانِ المَمَالكِ قَد اَوهَى قُوَاكُم وَ لما نَالَ تَوهِينَا
جَمّ المَنَاقِب فِي قَمعِ النوَاصبِ قد امضَى عَزِيمَتَه يخزي المَلَاعِينا

Say to those who hate ʿAlī: Desist you bastards! God refuses to have the party of Truth disdained.
The Mongol kings [*mulūk al-turk*] have restored their splendour, and Bahāʾ al-Dīn has increased their strength.
This son of the *ṣāḥib-dīwān al-mamālik* has broken your power, but has not himself been weakened.
He has gathered praise for his suppression of those who hate ʿAli, he has resolved to disgrace those accursed ones.[57]

Patronage of the shrine at Mashhad is not unambiguous evidence of Shīʿīsm; the shrine also received significant investment from Sunni ruling elites in Seljuq and Ghaznavid times. However, Niẓām al-Dīn's panegyric to Bahāʾ al-Dīn as a rare piece of evidence for the continuing vitality of Mashhad in the second half of the thirteenth century.[58] Furthermore, there is internal evidence that Niẓām al-Dīn adhered to Shīʿīsm. One short poem is addressed to leading ʿAlids (*akābir al-ʿalawiyya*),[59] and we have mentioned his correspondence with the leading Shiʿite scholars Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī and Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā. None of this is decisive, and, as noted above, Niẓām al-Dīn also addressed praise poems to the ʿAbbasid Caliph. However, in the *qaṣīda* on Iṣfahān Niẓām al-Dīn refers to himself as a *mujtahid*, and to his practice of *ijtihād*,[60] and this legal terminology, rejected by most Sunnis, does seem to confirm he was a Shiʿite. His association with the Caliph al-Mustanṣir probably reflects the growing influence of Shīʿīs in late ʿAbbasid Baghdād.[61]

57 Fatih 3884, fol. 96b.
58 See May Farhat, "Islamic Piety and Dynastic Legitimacy: The Case of the Shrine of ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Rida in Mashhad (10th–17th century)," PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2003, pp. 58–68. Farhat does not mention any patronage of the shrine by the Juwaynīs, and refers to the extensive destruction done by Mongol troops there.
59 Fatih 3884, fol. 133a.
60 Reisülküttab 978, fol. 129b.
61 On this phenomenon, see Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and his Library* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 5–8.

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Despite the favourable attitude of many Twelver Shīʿīs towards Mongol rule in its early years,[62] the Mongols, referred to as *mulūk al-turk* ("the kings of the Turks"),[63] feature only relatively rarely in Niẓām al-Dīn's writing. Instead, it is the three generations of the Juwaynī family who form the focus of his world. Indeed, one might perhaps think of Niẓām al-Dīn as something like resident poet at the Juwaynī court. Frequently the Juwaynīs are compared to kings or rulers. For instance, of Bahā' al-Dīn the younger's gift of the *sitāra* to Mashhad, Niẓām al-Dīn states that it exceeds what even Caliphs, kings and sultans have done before.[64] In his *qaṣīda* on Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad the younger's palace in Iṣfahān, he remarks,

تَمَنّى مُلوكُ الَارض لَثمَ تُرابِه ... فلم يخْل مِن خدٍ على الَارضِ ضارع
هِيَ الدَار عَنهَا الدائراتُ بمعزِلٍ ... مَن رَامَها بِالسُوءِ سُوءُ المصَارع
تُبَاهِي بِهَا الارضُ السّماءَ تَفاخُرًا ... وتَدفَعُ في صَدرِ النّجوم الكوامِع
...
فَلَا سَدُّ ذِي القَرنَين يُوصَفُ بَعدَهُ ... ولا الذِكر مِن اهرَام مِصرَ بِشَائِع
وَ هَل بَابُ ابوَاب يُشَادُ بِذكرِه ... وَ دَولَة بانِيهَا رَمَتْهُ بقالِع
هِيَ السُّدةُ العليَاءُ القَتْ بِهَا ... العَصَا سعَادَةُ جَدٍ للمكارِهِ دَافِع
اليهَا خَرَاجُ الارضِ يُجْبَى وَ يَرتَمِي ... ملوُكُ البَرايَا مِن مُطِيع و سَامِع

The kings of the earth desired to kiss its soil; it lacks not cheeks lowered to the ground [in submission].
It is a place from which changes of fortune are far; whoever looks at it with ill intent, evil will be his end!

62 See Judith Pfeiffer, "'Faces Like Shields Covered with Leather:' Keturah's Sons in the Post-Mongol Islamicate Eschatological Traditions" in *Horizons of the World: Festschrift for İsenbike Togan*, eds. İlker Evrim Binbaş and Nurten Kılıç-Schubel (Istanbul: İthaki, 2011), pp. 557–94.

63 On the tendency in Arabic to assimilate all steppe peoples under the name "*turk*" see, for example, Ulrich W. Haarmann, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity: The Arab Image of the Turk from the Abbasids to Modern Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East* Studies 20/2 (1988), pp. 177, 181–2.

64 Fatih 3884, fol. 97a.

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> The earth vies with the heavens in pride for it; it is raised up to the highest part of the shining stars.
> ....
> Neither can Alexander's dam be described after it, nor will the renown of the pyramids of Egypt survive.
> Can Bāb al-Abwāb [Derbent] be praised, when fortune consigned its builder to oblivion?
> It is the exalted portal; there good fortune which fends off evil has come to rest.
> The tax of the earth (*kharāj al-arḍ*) is gathered for it; the kings of the earth fall down [before it] obedient and attentive.'

Poetic conceit this may be; but nonetheless it is striking testimony to the ambition of the Juwaynīs that Niẓām al-Dīn could publicly promulgate this vision of Bahā' al-Dīn's palace as the centre of the universe to which the kings of the earth come, humble and submissive. Although written at the height of Abaqa's reign, there is apparently no room for the Ilkhan in this vision of the Juwaynī court.

4 Niẓām al-Dīn's Literary Agenda

Niẓām al-Dīn's choice of Arabic as his language of composition deserves some discussion. Ilkhanid rule in western Asia was accompanied by an outpouring of literary production in Persian. For all forms of literature other than scientific or religious, Persian became the lingua franca of the Ilkhanid domains, to such an extent that the period has been characterised as a "Persian renaissance."[65] Scholarship has also pointed to the rebirth of the idea of Iran as political unit, the Ilkhanate occupying, very roughly, the territories of the Sassanian Empire. In part, the composition of works in Persian was evidently designed to appeal to the Ilkhans especially after their conversion to Islam, by portraying their place in Muslim history in accessible language. Yet the efflorescence of Persian was also supported by patrons such as the Juwaynī family of bureaucrats, one of the most notable works of the period being 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī's famous

65 Cf. the book by Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, subtitled *A Persian Renaissance*; the idea, however, clearly goes back to Fragner's argument that Ikhans revived the idea of Iran as a political entity, drawing on ancient Iranian tradition such as the *Shahnāma* to bolster their legitimacy; for a recent restatement of it, see Bert G. Fragner, "Ilkhanid Rule and its Contributions to Iranian Political Culture," in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 68–80.

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history of the Mongol conquests, the *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushāy*, written in a notoriously florid style.

Niẓām al-Dīn was no doubt a native Persian-speaker, and Persian verse, some of it apparently of his own composition, is quoted from time to time in the *Munsha'āt*. For the most part this consists of individual lines, but there is one Persian *qaṣīda* addressed to Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī,[66] and even a *mulamma'*, a poem of alternating Persian and Arabic verses.[67] Indeed, although excluded from the *Munsha'āt*, we do have a couple of examples of letters in Persian by Niẓām al-Dīn.[68] With the exception of his poems dedicated to the caliph, almost all of his patrons and correspondents would have been at home in Persian. Why, then, Niẓām al-Dīn's choice of Arabic?

Never directly explained, but doubtless an important aspect of the background to Niẓām al-Dīn's literary activity, was the rivalry between Baghdād and Iṣfahān. Iṣfahān's pretension's to being a "second Baghdād" dated back at least to the ninth century; in part the Iṣfahānīs' ambitions rested on their claim to a mastery of Arabic, which is one reason why Persian only became a major literary language there a good couple of centuries later than in Khurāsān.[69] On one level, then, Niẓām al-Dīn's use of Arabic can be seen as a continuation of this traditional rivalry. His early poems to al-Mustanṣir suggest a desire to make a name for himself in Baghdād, his patron 'Aṭā Malik was governor of Baghdād, and among his correspondents was a Shī'ī man of letters who was in the service of 'Aṭā Malik when he was governor of Baghdād, Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Munshī al-Baghdādī.[70]

A further aspect of the choice of Arabic may have been the desire to restore an Arabophone, Islamic culture after its destruction by the Mongols. 'Aṭā Malik himself laments how previously,

> sublime poets and eloquent writers, Arabic and Persian, would compile in verse and prose works concerning the kings of the age and the worthies of the era and would write books about them. But … today, I say, the earth

66 Fatih 3884, fols. 87b–88b, prefacing a letter in Arabic.

67 Fatih 3884, fols. 38a–40b.

68 Süleymaniye, MS Hamidiye 1447, fol. 128a–b, two letters addressed to the sahib 'Izz al-Dīn Ṭāhir and the vizier Najm al-Dīn Jaylābādī (first noted by Ibn al-Rasūl, "Qāḍī Niẓām al-Dīn," p. 171). The *munsha'āt* section of this large *majmū'a* (fols. 125a–133b), which probably dates to the late fourteenth or fifteenth century, comprises *inshā'* by famous thirteenth-century and Ilkhanid authors such as Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl al-Iṣfahānī and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, as well as Niẓām al-Dīn, suggesting the continuing literary influence of the Juwaynī circle.

69 See the discussion in Durand-Guédy, *Iranian Elites and Turkish Rulers*, pp. 41–51.

70 Fatih 3884, fols. 118a–126a.

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> hath been divested of the adornment of the presence of those clad in the gown of science and those decked in the jewels of learning and letters.[71]

Juwaynī criticises the fact that in his days people "consider the Uighur [i.e. Mongol] language and script to be the height of knowledge and learning." The *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushāy* with its convoluted, highly Arabised style can be considered in part a reaction against this decline of Islamic learning. Indeed, both ʿAṭā Malik and Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī also composed poetry in Arabic, in particular quatrains (*dubayt*), just as Niẓām al-Dīn himself had.[72] This form eschewed some of the conventions of classical verse, and ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī's poems have been described as containing a "mixture of colloquial and classical registers."[73] Other notable works in Arabic composed under Ilkhanid patronage include the work of advice literature entitled the *Minhāj al-Wuzarā'*,[74] the Arabic version of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* by Rashīd al-Dīn, and the Sufi philosophical works of Dā'ūd al-Qayṣarī dedicated to Rashīd al-Dīn's son Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn.[75]

The *Munsha'āt* self-consciously reaches back to a classical tradition, with its allusions to Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī. These comparisons with the tenth-century golden age of Arabic literature are reinforced by Niẓām al-Dīn's comparison of his patron Bahā' al-Dīn the younger to the great Buyid vizier al-Ṣāḥib b. al-ʿAbbād.[76] Indeed, the whole Juwaynī dynasty is portrayed as the lynchpin of a renaissance of learning. The reasons for the shift from Arabic to Persian are expressly linked to the Mongol conquests, or as Niẓām al-Dīn puts it, "fortune shifting from the Arab nomads to the tents of the Turks, from the land of lizard-hunters to the campsites of the milkers of camels."[77] As Niẓām al-Dīn explains at great length, Arabic deserves to be recognised as superior

71 Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, vol. 1, p. 4; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 6.

72 Shaybī, *Dīwān al-Dubayt*, pp. 283–4, 304–6; see also al-Musawi, *The Medieval Arabic Republic of Letters*, p. 264.

73 al-Musawi, *The Medieval Arabic Republic of Letters*, p. 264.

74 Süleymaniye Library, MS Aya Sofya 2907, discussed by Louise Marlow in "'The Way of Viziers and the Lamp of Commanders (*Minhaj al-wuzara' wa-siraj al-umara'*)' of Ahmad al-Isfahbadhi and the Literary and Political Culture of Early Fourteenth Century Iran" in *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives on their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times*, Louise Marlow and Beatrice Gruendler, pp. 169–93 (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004).

75 For the dedications of these works by Da'ud al-Qaysari see Davud el-Kayseri, *Er-Resail*, ed. Mehmet Bayraktar (Kayseri: Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları 1997).

76 Reisülküttab 978, fol. 146b.

77 Fatih 3884, fol. 3b. Of course this is not quite true: Persian had been growing in importance ever since the Seljuq period.

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owing to it being the tongue of the Prophet and the Qur'an. However, he goes on to evoke the collapse of Islamic leaning in thirteenth-century Iran:

بل اقول دارت الدوائر على العلوم و ذويها * و انحت على نضارة رياض عيشهم تذويها * فاهملوا الفروع و الاصول * و اطرحوا المنقول والمعقول * و رغبوا عن الصناعات دقيقها و جليلها * و الحكم جملها و تفاصيلها * فغاضت الشرائع بمسائلها * وتُركت مدلولات احكام الفقه بدلائلها * فلا دارس سوى الظلل في المدارس * ولا مجاوب سوى الصدى ما بين اعلامها الدوارس

I say: disasters have beset the sciences and their proponents and the freshness of the gardens of their ease has withered away. They have neglected practical and theoretical learning (*al-furūʿ wa-l-uṣūl*) and have thrown aside rational and transmitted knowledge (*al-manqūl wa-l-maʿqūl*). They detest the finest and noblest of arts (*al-ṣināʿāt*), and wisdom (*al-ḥikam*), both as a whole and in its details. The holy laws and their questions have fallen into abeyance, and the evidence of the laws of fiqh with their proofs have been abandoned. There is no student but the shadows in the madrasa, nor any respondent save the echo among its ruins.[78]

However, in recent times a saviour has appeared in the form of the Juwaynī family:

و طلع صبح النجح من آفاق حسن الاتفاق * و تباشر ارباب تلك السلع بنفاق الاسواق * و ناهض ملوكَ العهد لتنفيذ الاحكام * مالكُ رق العلوم و ربقة الانام * صاحب ديوان الممالك الماضي السعيد غفر الله له واتيح لدولة شبليه و جميل ذكره التخليدُ

By good fortune, the morn of progress has dawned, and sellers of those goods (i.e. learning) have tidings of a good trade in the markets. One who possesses the servitude of learning and the noose [i.e. complete obedience] of men has defied the kings of the age to implement the

78 Fatih 3884, fol. 10b.

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> laws (*al-aḥkām*), [that is] the late *ṣāḥib-dīwān al-mamālik* [Bahāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī the elder], may God forgive him, and grant immortality to his two sons' state (or fortune) and his fair mention.[79]

Nonetheless, disaster beset Bahāʾ al-Dīn the elder as a result of unspecified suspicions (*sāʾat al-ẓunūn wa-ʾnʿakasat al-āmāl*). The hopes invested in him now turned to his two sons, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik and Shams al-Dīn, "the possessors of the obedience of men of the sword and the pen, the two lords of the auspicious conjunction, who both spread justice and charity" (*mālikay ribqat arbāb al-sayf wa-l-qalam, ṣāḥibay qirān al-zamān, nāshiray al-ʿadl wa-l-iḥsān*).[80] Their rule is lavishly praised, and Niẓām al-Dīn stresses how it incumbent on all creation to thank and praise them, hence his own composition of the *Shuraf al-Aywān* (i.e. the *Munshaʾāt*).

5 Conclusion

The lavish terms in which Niẓām al-Dīn praises the Juwaynīs as a dynasty that has challenged the corrupt rulers of his day, as leaders of an Islamic renaissance, suggest he saw them as an alternative centre of power to the Ilkhans. Reading the *Munshaʾāt*, it is easy to see how the Ilkhans Abaqa and Arghun were convinced to put an end to the Juwaynī clan by the latter's rivals.[81] Niẓām al-Dīn thus offers a window into the political, as well as the literary and cultural, history of the period. This study has attempted merely to offer a preliminary survey of some aspects of this important but almost entirely unknown author. His works have much more to offer political historians, and as mentioned above the *khuṭba* on Bahāʾ al-Dīn the younger seems a particularly promising source for the career of this controversial governor of Iṣfahān. Further research on Niẓām al-Dīn's networks of patrons and correspondents promises to shed light on the little-known intellectual history of the Ilkhanate, which is dominated in modern scholarship either by Persian-language authors, or else religious and scientific writers who used Arabic. The popularity of Niẓām al-Dīn's works suggests, however, that future scholarship must take much more seriously the role of Arabic as literary language in the Ilkhanate. Moreover, notions of a cultural revival in thirteenth-century Iran should be qualified by the evidence that this was not simply a Persian renaissance, but an Islamic, Arabophone one.

79 Fatih 3884, fol. 11b.
80 Fatih 3884, fol. 12a–b.
81 See Rajabzadeh, "Jovayni family".

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CHAPTER 2

Mongol Endorsement of the Islamic Institution of Pious Endowment (*Waqf*) as Revealed in the Waqf Document of 1272 in Arabic and Mongolian Drawn Up in Kırşehir for Nūr al-Dīn, the Son of Jaja

Kazuhiko Shiraiwa

Right from the initial stage of the formation of the Mongol Empire, Chinggis Khan and his successors showed their generosity to the religious people of Daoism, Christianity and Buddhism by issuing decrees to exempt these people from taxes and corvées on condition that they say their prayers to Heaven wishing happiness and everlasting reign of the ruler.[1] The earliest example of such decrees is the one issued in 1223 to Qiu Chuji (1148–1227), or better known as 長春眞人 (Changchun Zhenren), the Daoist leader who was summoned by Chinggis Khan and traveled to Central Asia in 1222 to meet him, who welcomed Qiu Chuji and had time of intimate conversation, and finally granted him an edict to order the officials of the Empire to exempt him and his disciples from corvées and taxes.[2]

The Mongols were tolerant of the believers of the religions just mentioned. This Mongol tolerance was also reflected in the way they treated the Islamic religious institution of *waqf*, namely pious endowments, as is shown in the *waqf* document of 1272 drawn for the upkeep of a caravanserai near Kırşehir and other properties in favor of Nūr al-Dīn ibn Jaja and his descendants.

Four copies of this document are known to exist, namely

1. Iskilip MS dated 1272 (MS I)
2. Kırşehir MS 1 dated 1272, partly added in 1273 (MS K1)

1 H. F. Schurmann, "Mongolian tributary practices of the thirteenth century," *HJAS*, 19 (1956): pp. 304–389, especially p. 325 ff. See also V. V. Grigor'ev, "O dostovĭernosti ĭarlykov' dannykh' khanami zolotoĭ ordy russkomu dukhovenstvu," in his *Rossīya i Azīya: sbornik izslĭedovanīĭ i stateĭ po istorīi, ėtnografĭ i geografīi* (St.-Petersburg: Tipografīĭa brat. Panteleevykh', 1876), pp. 170–258 for the edicts issued by the rulers of the Golden Horde to the Metropolitans of the Russian Orthodox Church.

2 "A holy edict to grant Qiu Chuji and other people who left home (for the sake of pursuing religious life) exemption from the 差發 *chaifa* and taxes, March 1223," *Quan Yuan Wen*, v. 1 (Nanjing: Jiangsu gu ji zhu ban she, 1997), pp. 6–7.

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3. Kırşehir MS 2 dated 1272 (MS K2)
4. Ya'qub b. Yusuf MS (MS Y) dated 1288

MS I is completely in Arabic and is now in the Museum of Islamic and Turkish Art in Istanbul. It deals with pious endowments in and around Kırşehir with more emphasis on the properties in Iskilip where this document originally came from.[3]

MSS K1 and K2 are bilingual documents in Arabic and Mongolian. K1 is in private collection and is not available to researchers but written copies of the Arabic text are available in the *Waqf Genel Müdürlüğü* or "General Office of *Waqf*" in Ankara and photographs and transliterations of the Mongolian section were published in 1948 and 1959.[4] MS K2 is an abbreviated version of MS K1, so I mainly refer to the Mongolian section of MS K1 in this paper.

The fourth MS is of later date and is now held in the Museum of Islamic and Turkish Art in Istanbul but it is reported that there are only 88 lines in Arabic and only 2 lines of Mongolian text in this MS,[5] so I do not discuss this MS in this paper.

This 1272 document became known to the world in 1938 and 1948 when Cevdet Hakkı Tarım referred to it in his books on the city Kırşehir in Anatolia. In the book *Kırşehir tarih üzerinde araştırmalar* ("Sources on the History of Kırşehir"), vol. 1, published in 1938 in Kırşehir, he described the Uyghur-Mongolian text as lines in Kufic script.[6] It was, however, Ahmet Temir who first recognized them as lines in Uyghur-Mongolian script.[7] Cevdet Tarım accepted Ahmet Temir's view and asked the latter to prepare Roman transcriptions of the Mongolian text, which he incorporated in the book *Tarihte Kırşehir-Gülşehri ve Babailer–Ahiler–Bektaşiler* ("Kırşehir-Gülşehri and Babai, Ahi, and Bektaş Peoples in History") published in 1948 together with photographs of a part of the Mongolian version of MS K1. Ahmet Temir, however, was for some unknown reason not allowed access to the original scroll of Arabic

3 Judith Pfeiffer, "Protecting private property vs. negotiating political authority: Nūr al-Dīn b. Jaja and His Endowments in Thirteenth-Century Anatolia," in *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran: Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia*, eds. Robert Hillenbrand et al. (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 153.

4 Cevat Hakkı Tarım, *Tarihte Kırşehir-Gülşehri ve Babailer–Ahiler–Bektaşiler*, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: Yeniçağ Matbaası, 1948), pp. 43–55 (especially pp. 47 and 50) and pp. 119–122. The latter contains a photograph of the Mongolian version, followed by Romanized text and Turkish translation.

5 Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

6 Cevat Hakki Tarim, *Kırşehir tarihinde araştırmalar*, vol. 1, (Kırşehir, 1938), p. 67.

7 Ahmet Temir, *Kırşehir emiri Caca Oğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça-Moğolca Vakfiyesi* (Ankara 1959), p. 284. This book is now available in an electronic edition from Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish Historical Society).

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and Mongolian bilingual document (MS K1).[8] He continued his studies on the document, consulting the original of MS I and MS K2 and written copies of the Arabic section of MS K1 and photographs of the Mongolian section of the same document, and published his studies on this document in Ankara in 1959. It was his Habilitationsschrift (Hamburg University).[9] In this book Ahmet Temir published Arabic texts of MS I and K1 and Romanized Mongolian texts of K1 and K2 with photographs, together with Turkish notes and translations and a summary in German.

Since the publication of Ahmet Temir's important work no proper studies of this document has been done except by a handful of scholars. Lajos Ligeti incorporated the Mongolian texts of MSS K1 and K2 in his book of collected Mongolian texts of the 13th and 14th centuries in Roman transcriptions.[10] Speros Vryonis Jr. mainly used the Arabic version of this document as testimony to document the Islamization of Christian Anatolia.[11] Recently, Judith Pfeiffer published her article on the Arabic version of this document.[12] I have also consulted *Uyiġurjin Mongġol üsüg-ün durasqaltu bichig-üd* ("Mongolian Documents in the Uyghur-Mongolian Script") edited by Dobu and published in Beijing in 1983, but this document was not included in that volume.

My paper intends to make an analysis of the hitherto little studied Mongolian version of this document by focusing on the use of the terms *uqv* (*waqf*) and *nöker*. By so doing I will try to shed light on the peculiarity of this *waqf* document, which reveals not only a Mongol endorsement of the institution of *waqf* in and around Kırşehir but also the social relations among Mongol garrisons in Anatolia as of 1272 and 1273.

The *waqf* document we are going to discuss is, like all the other *waqf* documents, a document by which Nūr al-Dīn ibn Jaja abandoned his properties and gave them away for the good purposes as defined in Islamic law. Since it brought transfer of ownership from a private person to Allāh, the signs of *shahādāt* or testimonies were prerequisite to secure the validity of the document.[13] The

8 *Ibid*., p. 290.

9 *Ibid*., p. 2.

10 Lajos Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques 1: XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1972), pp. 270–274.

11 Speros Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 246, 354.

12 Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*

13 For the institution of *waqf* in Islam see: "Waḳf," in *EI2*; Fuad Köprülü, "L'institution du Vakouf: sa nature juridique et son évolution historique," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 2 (1942): pp. 3–44; Kazuhiko Shiraiwa, "Isuramukyō koku no shūkyō zaisan seido," *Refarensu*, vol. 44, no. 8 (1971): pp. 38–76.

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waqf document should be composed in Arabic, but under the Mongols *waqf* documents in Persian, like that of Rashīd al-Dīn drafted in 1309 for the upkeep of his *Rabʿ-i Rashīdī* ("Rashīd's Quarter") in Tabriz, became acceptable.[14]

If we compare the Arabic version of Nūr al-Dīn's *waqf* document of 1272 with two other Ilkhanid *waqf* documents, namely the *kavale waqf* document of the Monastery of Saint George in Armenia of 1305 and Rashīd al-Dīn's *waqf* document for his Rabʿ-i Rashīdī of 1309, we recognize that each document follows the normal pattern of *waqf* documents, namely the properties to be endowed are listed, the administrators are named, and the testimonies are listed to authenticate the document just drawn up.[15] What is peculiar to Nūr al-Dīn's document is that it has an additional Mongol version where Mongol testimonies are listed, but in which the properties are not named except Latīf Caravanserai. No mention is made therein of either its administrators or their salaries.[16]

According to the wordings of the Mongolian version of the document in question, it is a *waqf* document drawn up in 1272 by Jaja oğlu Nūr al-Dīn or Nūr al-Dīn ibn Jaja, giving away his private properties as Islamic pious endowments to maintain "Lativ Kermensaray" or Latīf Caravanserai and other items in the way stipulated in the Arabic version of this document.[17] In this way, Nūr al-Dīn tried to keep his properties intact from the seizure or confiscation by the government power, handing them down to posterity. Apart from the normal procedure of making private properties into *waqf*, Nūr al-Dīn must have felt the need to obtain sanctions for his conduct from Mongol contingents stationed in Anatolia, who had been there ever since the battle of Köse Dağ ("Narrow Mountain") in 1243 when the Seljuqs of Rum were defeated by the Mongol army led by Baiju Noyan.[18]

Since the Seljuq Dynasty was now a vassal state to the Ilkhans and Mongol contingents were sent by the Ilkhans, any Islamic institution should be sanctioned by the local Mongol representatives if it were to continue its existence permanently. Hence there emerges the need of some document to this effect.

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14 Kazuhiko Shiraiwa, "Rashīdo-uddīn no wakufu bunsho," *Ajia shiryō tsūhō*, 26, no. 12 (1989): p. 37.

15 The *kavale waqf* document of the Church of Saint George in Armenia was edited with translations into Armenian and Russian languages by H. D. Papazyan. See his *Matenadarani parskeren vaveragrerě* ("Persian Documents in Matenadaran"), vol. 2, prak 1, (Erevan: Hayakakan SSH Gitutỳunneri Akademia, 1968), pp. 405–411 (Arabic text), pp. 243–249 (Russian translation).

16 Temir, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–161.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 159, ll. 3–7.

18 For the battle of Köse Dağ and its aftermath, see: Mitsuhashi Fujio, *Toruko no Rekishi* (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 1964), pp. 55–63.

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We may conjecture that Nūr al-Dīn had made contact with Samaghar Noyan and other Mongol generals, and had asked their endorsement of his act of pious endowment. As a result, the *waqf* document was drawn up for this purpose in 1272. Then Samaghar Noyan and other noyans may have agreed to make testimony on the original Arabic document of *waqf* on the understanding that Nūr al-Dīn would donate his properties as pious endowments for the upkeep of Latīf Caravanserai and other institutions in the name of Allāh.

If we compare the Arabic version and Mongolian version of the document K1 we can easily recognize that Mongolian version is not a parallel translation of the Arabic original. The Arabic version of the document K1 has 466 lines in all, lacking the first portion.[19] This Arabic version of the *waqf* document is followed by 67 lines of Mongolian version, which consist of two sections, namely 61 lines drawn up in 1272 and 6 lines added to it in 1273.[20] Therefore, I may say that the Arabic version is the original or the copy of the original *waqf* document of Nūr al-Dīn's endowment whereas the Mongolian section of 1272 as well as additional Mongolian section of 1273 is a summary version.

The 1272 section of the Mongolian version gives only summary description of the properties to be endowed, simply referring to Latīf Caravanserai in contrast to so many properties listed in Arabic version, while the 1273 section of the same version does not list any item to be endowed, simply mentioning the act of *waqf* as described in the 1272 section.[21] It is curious that the "Lativ Karavansaray" or Latīf Caravanserai is not listed in the Arabic versions of the documents K1 and K2, nor in the document 1, which leads us into questioning whether that caravanserai ever existed at all. Ahmet Temir is of opinion that this Latīf Caravanserai may be the one on the highway between Kayseri and Sivas as mentioned under this name in the Seljuq and Ottoman sources.[22] This caravanserai is in fact another one with the same name situated either in the vicinity of Sivas, or somewhere on the highway between Kayseri and Sivas.[23] The exact location of the Latīf Caravanserai as appears in the Mongolian

19 Temir, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–80.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 163–165, 327–329 (revised transcriptions). See also Ligeti, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–273.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 159 (Mongolian text), 327 (revised Mongolian text), p. 67ff. (Arabic text). Ahmet Temir says that "there is no similarity between the Arabic text and Mongolian section (in K1) from the viewpoint of included items." Temir, *op. cit.*, p. 152. See also Bayburtluoğlu, Zafer, "Caca Oğlu Nureddin'in vakfiyesinde adı geçen yapılar," *Vakıflar Dergisi,* 25 (1995): pp. 5–8 for the list of endowed items.

22 Temir, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

23 Özergin, M. Kemal, "Anadolu'da Selçuklu kervansarayları," *Tarih Dergisi*, XV/20 (1965): p. 157, item (81); Erdmann, Kurt, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 1. Teil (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1961), p. 196, item No. 74.

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version of Nūr al-Dīn's *waqf* document should therefore be sought somewhere else, probably near Kırşehir.[24]

Now we examine the Mongolian text of the document K1 contained in Ahmet Temir's book. I give here the English translation of the Mongolian version of the document K1 which starts with the following remarks:

> On the last 12th day of the first month of the summer in the year of monkey (i.e. 20 *Shawwal* 670/20 May 1272), Nūr al-Dīn, the son of Jaja, donated his whole property to the Latif Karavansaray as *uqv* (*waqf*) for the sake of *Tngri* (Heaven), and put it into this writing.
>
> Whosoever comes after me, be it my *aqa* and *de'ü* (elder and younger brothers), my sons, my daughter and her bridegroom, my *urugh* (clan) and relatives, and others not mentioned in this writing, if the person makes an injury to or gives a different form to it, or changes the writing, the person shall be punished by Eternal *Tngri* (Heaven).[25]

Then comes the main body of the Mongolian version of this document as follows

> After saying that the tasks should be envisaged according to the way put down in this writing we, namely the *noyans* mentioned below, together with our *nöked* [*nökers*] give testimony to this writing.[26]

Then comes the list of noyans or generals who testified to this document:

> Samaghar. Bainal. Dayir. Kökečü. Tmür. Ebügen. Köke. Buqa-tmür. Samtaghu. Iltöge. Tajadin *tudqaghul*. Marghus. Taraqai. Uriangqadai, the commander of Nabči's *jaghun* [one hundred]. Alaghu *aghtači* [groom]. Unughučar. Ungghiyan.[27]

Here we recognize "Marghus" or "Marcos" as a Christian name and "Tajadin" or "Tāj al-Dīn" as a Muslim name. The list goes on further:

24 See Baburtoğlu, Zafer, *op. cit.*, p. 155, item (69) for the site situated close to Kırşehir.
25 Temir, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 327–328, plates 5–7.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 159, ll. 18–22.
27 Temir, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–160.

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> Bal-a *baghurči qoyar* [second cook]. Čirbin. Qutu-Buqa. Buqačar. The noyans of Boranud, namely Ögoljin and Čamtu.[28]

Then comes the list of the commanders of one hundred men and other officials:

> Noyans of one hundred. Samtaghu. Čoban Negbei. Maghu.
> Grooms. Čaq-a.
> Nabči's *bökegül* [provisions officer]. Toghtogh-a. Esen. Čaugh-a. Toghan. Turumtai. Ečüdeči.
> Uriyangqadai's son Qitadai.
> Nabči's *nuntuqči* [headquarters officers]. Qanglidai. Talbar. Keremün.[29]

To this list of officials we may add the names of people who were not present, such as Boranud and Nabči, whose followers were listed as such in the document.

Then comes the list of the *nökers* and *baghurčis*:

> And Samaghar noyan's *nökers*. Mergegü. Taraqai. Bökmiš. Tmür. Qurtugha. *baghurcid* [cooks]. Tödegü. Songhor. Botoghan. Bor-a. Kurbuqa. Qaljaghai. Il-qudlugh. Molayidai. Mamačugh. Teken-e. Sadi. Tabar. Songhor. Baghatur.
> Bainal's *nöked* (*nökers*). Masqud. Külebir. Molaid. Qoltu-quča. Kökečü. Noqai. Böbeg. Kökedei. Iduqadai. Nasuqudlugh. Yüreg. Aban.[30]

Finally the list of noyans of one thousand and of one hundred:

> Then *mingghan-u noyan* [noyan of the one thousand] Ayid.
> *Jaghud-un noyad* [noyans of one hundred] Nuqs-a. Toghuladai
> Qasan. Kökedei.
> Türkmen. Yosutai. Atamasun. Qadaghan. Qočqar.
> Möngkegür the *bökegül* [provisions officer]. Qutughu.
> [they] were present.[31]

Then comes the last lines of the Mongolian document of 1272:

28 *Ibid.*, p. 160, ll. 29–31.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 160, ll. 32–40.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 160, l. 40 – p. 161, l. 52.
31 Temir, *op. cit.*, p. 161, ll. 53–58.

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> Then [for] all that Nūr al-Dīn's word desires in the *waqf* [the named people] will be the witness.[32]

In these 61 lines of Mongolian text drawn up in 1272 in the Mongolian version of Nūr al-Dīn's *waqf*, two key terms emerge, namely *uqv* (*waqf*) and *nöker*.

Uqv is a Mongolian transcription of Arabic *waqf* meaning pious endowment. The original meaning of *waqf* is derived from Arabic *waqafa* "to stop," and means "to stop something," in this case the term is used to denote "stop selling or buying of properties given away for God in good purposes."[33]

The term *uqv* shows that the Mongols, on this occasion, accepted the Islamic institution of *waqf in toto*, accepting the term *waqf* and recorded it in Uyghur-Mongolian script.[34] Since the Mongolian version of document K1 does not go into any detail of Nūr al-Dīn's *waqf*, it is more properly called an endorsement deed for the already drafted Arabic version of document K1.

There is, however, some discrepancy between the Arabic and Mongolian versions of this document as I have mentioned. The Arabic version of the document K1 is drafted by Nūr al-Dīn in order to protect his properties and hand them down to his descendants by using the Islamic institution of *waqf*. The properties and incomes are listed with much detail in the Arabic version.[35] In contrast, the Mongolian version of the same document simply states that Nūr al-Dīn gives away his whole property for the upkeep of Latīf Caravanserai and other unnamed properties.[36] Here the aim of *waqf* is not identical with the Arabic version.

How should we think about this discrepancy between these two versions? My idea is that while Nūr al-Dīn drafted this document, particularly K1, following Islamic law and describing in detail what to give away, the Mongolian version was made so that Mongol garrisons have respect to the local public institutions set up as *waqf* properties. If both parties, namely Muslims on the one hand and the Mongol garrisons on the other, agree to show respect to the conduct of endowment by Nūr al-Dīn, and if Muslims vow by Allāh and Mongols vow by *Tngri* to that effect, then the aim of this Mongolian version will be achieved without going into any detail of endowed properties.

Now the second key word in understanding the Mongolian version of document K1 is *nöker*. *Nöker* or *nökhör* is used both in classical and modern

32 *Ibid.*, p. 161, ll. 58–61.

33 Kazuhiko Shiraiwa, "The Institution of Religious Properties (*Waqf*) in Islamic Countries," pp. 39–43.

34 Temir, *op. cit.*, p. 159, l. 14; p. 161, ll. 60, 62.

35 See note 21.

36 Temir, *op. cit.*, p. 161, ll. 3–8.

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Mongolian in the meaning "companion, friend, comrade, etc.," namely as a term to denote someone who is on equal terms with you.[37]

This basic meaning of *nöker* underwent change during the Chinggisid period as was studied by late Professor Masao Mori of Tokyo University. Mori's argument on *nöker* was that it was not a term to denote a voluntary vassal with the freedom of leaving his monarch as had been described by B. Ja. Vladimircov in his *Obščestvennyj stroj Mongolov* ("The Social Organization of the Mongols") but rather a term to denote a vassal bound to his lord with obligation of service and without the freedom of leaving him.[38] This view of Masao Mori seems to me a reasonable interpretation of the term *nöker* commonly used in the Mongol Empire. However, Hirotoshi Shimo of Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library) in Tokyo has a different opinion on the meaning of nöker, which he takes as a term to denote the elite corps in the Mongol Empire, a proposal that does not seem to be supported by contemporary evidence.[39]

My view on the term *nöker* in the Ilkhanid times is that it was simply a term meaning someone who is serving a superior person, without any sense of being part of an elite corps. Of course, the members of the elite corps in the Mongol Empire were also *nökers* to the members of the Chinggisid House, but not vice versa. Only a small portion of all the *nökers* were members of the elite corps there.[40] In my view the Mongolian version of this document shows clearly that *nöker* means "a follower, someone who is under the command of somebody," like "Samaghar Noyan's followers Mergegü, Taraqai …" and "Bainal's followers Masqud, Külebir …" The way *nöker* is presented in the Mongolian version of this *waqf* document shows that in the Ilkhanid Empire the term *nöker* was chiefly used as "follower, vassal, etc." and it matches the interpretation of the term as given by Masao Mori above.

My interpretation of *nöker* is supported by the way the term made its way into Persian language of the same period in the form of *nawkar* with the meaning of "follower," which is used in modern Persian in the meaning of

37 O. M. Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, vol. 2 (Kazan: University Press, 1846), pp. 702–703, 700; L. Z. Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' turecko-tatarskix narečii*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Academy of Sciences Press, 1871), p. 296; *Wörterbuch Mongolisch-Deutsch*, eds. Schalonow Zebek and Johannes Schubert (Leipzig, 1984), p. 118. For the term as used in ancient Turkic see V. M. Nadeljaev, *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo NAUKA, 1969), p. 361.

38 Mori Masao, "Nökör kō josetsu," *Tohogaku* 5 (1952): pp. 56–58.

39 For Hirotoshi Shimo's argument on *nöker* see his *Mongoru teikokushi kenkyu josetsu* ("A Prolegomena to the Studies on the Mongol Empire") (Tokyo: Todai shuppankai, 1995).

40 For the elites in the Mongol Empire, see my articles: "On the ötegü boġol in the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn," *Acta Orientalia* 47 (1986): pp. 27–31; "Īnjū in the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn," *AOH* 42, nos. 2–3 (1988): pp. 371–376.

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"servant."[41] Gerhard Doerfer, the author of *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, gives the meaning of *nöker* as "Gefolgsman, später Diener," that is, "follower, later servant."[42] It may suffice to say that Mongolian term *nöker* was used in the meaning of "follower" in the *waqf* document we discuss, leaving no room for other special meaning. The term gives us a key to understand who were leaders and who were followers in the Mongol garrisons in Anatolia in 1272.

Now I would like to deal with the last portion of the Mongolian version, namely the last 6 lines written in 1273. The main body of Mongolian version was written in 1272, and the last 6 lines were added to it.

The English translation of these 6 lines is as follows:

> Noyans in Rum (Anatolia) beginning with Samaghar, Bainal, Nabči, Bečin, have given a writing to be the witnesses for the good deed of *waqf* by Nūr al-Dīn. At present, namely in the year of rooster (1273–74), Tuqu, Kerei, Matus *baghsi*, Ajundu, Külčigün, Tš-tmür, Tölg-qaya, Tümeder, Kelige, Beg-tmür, Satilmiš, Baghsi, Tölg, Bayildar, Eder, Sadadin, Qoja, Kökedei, Bolad, Siraqan and others have written their names in the document of witnesses.[43]

The 1273 addition of the Mongolian text in the document K1 was made necessary because of the change of offices amongst the Mongol officials in the Mongol army. The major officials in Anatolian contingents in 1272 were Samaghar, Bainal, Nabči, Bečin, whereas those in 1273 were Tuqu, Kerei and so forth, totaling 20 officials named above. Among the former we observe two Muslim names, namely Tajadin (Tāj al-Dīn) and Masqud (Mas'ūd), and in the latter we also observe two Muslim names, namely Sadadin (Sa'ād al-Dīn) and Qoja (Khūja), which may show a slow process of Islamization of Mongols long before the conversion to Islam of Ghazan Khan in 1295.[44]

If we compare these names listed in the 1272 version with those of 1273 revision of the Mongolian section of the document, we can see that there was a wholesale replacement of Mongol contingents in Anatolia in 1273. The Mongol contingents led by Samaghar Noyan and others were called back to

41 *Langenscheidt Universal Wörterbuch Persisch*, eds. Khosro Naghed and Mohsen Naged (Berlin: Langenscheidt, 2002), p. 216.

42 Doerfer, *op. cit.*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1963), p. 521.

43 Temir, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–162.

44 See Judith Pfeiffer, "Reflections on a 'Double Rapprochement': Conversion to Islam among the Mongol Elite during the Early Ilkhanate," *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 375.

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the Ilkhanid territory together with their soldiers, while other contingents led by Tuqu and others entered in Anatolia in 1273.[45] On this occasion, Samaghar Noyan may have given advice to Tuqu to continue the policy of sanctioning the *waqf* of Nūr al-Dīn. Hence, the additional passages in 6 lines may have been written as a renewed endorsement on Nūr al-Dīn's *waqf* of 1272 as shown in the document K1.

This change of Mongol contingents took place four years before the fatal battle of Elbistan or Abulustayn on 10th Dhū'l-Qada 673/15th April 1277 when the Mongol army led by Tuda'un and Tuqu was defeated by the Syro-Egyptian invading force led by Sultan Baybars.[46] In this battle both Tuda'un, the commander in chief of the Mongol army, and Tuqu whose name appeared in the 1273 revision of the Mongolian section of the document just mentioned were killed and many others who were listed in the same document of 1273 may have suffered the same fate. Abaqa Khan, who was informed of this defeat, immediately set off for Anatolia, and

> As he saw the dead bodies of Mongol army piled up one after another, the ocean of anger came to a height and he ordered that all the rebels should be punished.[47]

This battle and the ensuing Jimri's rebellion backed by the Turkomans changed the political situation in Anatolia so drastically that Abaqa Khan decided to keep Anatolia under the tight control of the central government of Tabriz by sending a more powerful governor-general there, leaving the Seljuq government in only a nominal role. Landownership and taxation also underwent a great change, and the Mongol ways of administration such as *dalāy* (government property) and *īnjū* (crown property) were introduced there.[48] How

45 For the political situation of Anatolia in the Ilkhanid period, see: Charles Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols," *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453*, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), especially pp. 67–71 for the period around 1272–1273.

46 For the Mamluk-Mongol relations see: Reuven Amitai, *Holy War and Rapprochement: Studies in the Relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Mongol Ilkhanate (1260–1335)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). See also V. G. Tizengauzen (2005 and 2006) for relevant Arabic and Persian sources.

47 Ibn al-Bībī, *Mukhtasar-i Saljūqnāmah*, in *Akhbār-e Salājeqe-ye Rūm*, ed. M. J. Mashkour (Tehran: Ketāb-e Forushī-ye Tehrān, 1971), p. 319.

48 *Dalay* is a Mongolian word meaning 'ocean.' How this term came to be employed to denote 'government property' under the Ilkhans is not clear yet. The term *īnjū* is in fact a Mongolian loan word in Persian, coming from *emčü* (private property). See my article on this term in the footnote 40.

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Nūr al-Dīn's *waqf* properties in Kırşehir and other areas transformed in the post-Elbistan era is yet to be clarified.

These interesting themes I have just mentioned may be grouped and named together as Anatolia after Elbistan which may be a subject for another paper that I am planning to undertake in the near future.

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CHAPTER 3

Rashīd al-Dīn's Ghazanid Chronicle and Its Mongolian Sources

Christopher P. Atwood

The publication of the edited volume *Rashīd al-Dīn as an Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran* (2013)[1] has highlighted the continuing fascination with Rashīd al-Dīn as a precociously modern multicultural historian and intellectual. His Jewish background, service to the Mongol empire, and access to a team of multi-lingual translators all gave him a very different perspective from that of more mainstream Persian and Arabic historians of his day. His greatest monument, the *Compendium of Chronicles*, was the first inter-ecumenical history, i.e. the first known history to explicitly attempt to utilize histories written in a wide variety of intellectual and religious traditions, without subordinating them to one dominant ideological framework. The groundwork of this inter-ecumenical approach was laid in the work's first part, the history of the Mongol empire entitled the *Ghazanid Chronicle* (*Ta'rīkh-i Ghāzān-ī*),[2] in which Rashīd al-Dīn based his work on translations from a wide variety of Mongolian-language sources, including chronicles, biographies, and genealogies.

Since many of these sources can be concretely and clearly defined by comparison with extant Chinese and Mongolian sources on the empire, source-critical methodology offers great scope for clarifying both what now-lost Mongolian sources were available to him, and how he used them to compose the *Ghazanid Chronicle*.[3] This paper will present the initial results

1 Anna Akasoy, Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, and Charles Burnett, ed. *Rashīd al-Dīn as an Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran* (London: The Warburg Institute, 2013).

2 This title, originally planned for the work as a whole, is still found in the Introduction; see RD/Khetagurov, p. 65; RD/Thackston, p. 17; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 59. This simpler form is found in the A family of MSS, such as the Tashkent (Abu Rayhon Beruni Institute, no. 1620) and Istanbul (Revân köşkü 1518) MSS. In the B family of MSS, for example, the London MS (BL 7628) and the Tehran Majlis MS (no. 2294), the original title, *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzān-ī* "Chronicle of the Blessed Ghazan" is preserved. See Shimo Satoko, "Ghâzân Khan and the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*: Concerning Its Relationship to the 'Mongol History' of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*," *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, 54 (1996): pp. 107–8.

3 I do not know of any general survey of source-critical methodology, but for case studies introducing the method, see Anthony F. Campbell and Mark O'Brien, *Sources of the*

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of my research into Rashīd al-Dīn's sources, part of an on-going project on Mongolian-language imperial historiography. As my research relies crucially upon detailed comparison of Chinese and Mongolian texts with Rashīd al-Dīn's *Ghazanid Chronicle*, it is limited to those sections of the history for which such wholly or partially parallel texts are abundant. This consideration limits my research to the reign of Chinggis Khan and his immediate successors, particularly Ögödei and Tolui. The question of Rashīd al-Dīn's sources for his later history of the Mongolian khans, whether the Qa'ans in East Asia or the khans of the Jochid and Chaghatayid, lines, is an extremely important one. Given that he had never actually lived in the area, had only a vague understanding of the geography, and had no personal knowledge of the principals, it seems hard to believe that Rashīd al-Dīn could have crafted such a detailed and accurate narrative as we see he did of Qubilai Sechen Qa'an's conflicts with Ariq Böke, or of the post-1260 era conflicts in the Chaghatayid Khanate without extensive reliance on written sources. But his narrative of those events, as with that of the Ilkhans, seems with its smoothness and fluency to repel source criticism fairly effectively.[4] It is to be hoped, however, that this examination of how Rashīd al-Dīn stitched together his early narratives may provide clues for investigation of his sources in later sections.

1 The Sequence of Composition of the Ghazanid Chronicle

Since Rashīd al-Dīn's use of sources was merely one part of his overall compositional process, it is important to first understand the sequence in which he wrote his work. Fortunately, he left a large number of important clues that together enable the sequence of his work to be established fairly carefully.

The over-all organization of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Compendium of Chronicles* is familiar to scholars, but may be briefly summarized.[5] The basic division is into: 1) the original *Ghazanid Chronicle*, which tells the history of the Mongol empire from the remote ancestors of the Mongols and Turks down to the reigns of

Pentateuch: Texts, Introductions, Annotations (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) and John S. Kloppenberg Verbin, *Excavating Q: History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).

4 One must make an exception, of course, of the third part of his "History of Ghazan Khan," where decrees and speeches of the khan cited verbatim form the bulk of the text.

5 For the organization of the overall work, see the very convenient table in Shimo Hirotoshi, *Mongoru teikoku shi kenkyū seihen: Chūō Yūrashia yūboku shoseiken no kokka kōzō* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2013), pp. 32–33, which also shows the coverage of the extant portions of a number of important manuscripts.

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Temür Öljeitü Qa'an in East Asia and Ghazan Khan in the Middle East;[6] and 2) the appendices in which he recounts the histories of the Persian and Islamic dynasties, followed by the histories of the Islamic dynasties, the Oghuz Turks,[7] China, Israel, the Franks, and India.[8] In his prefaces, Rashīd al-Dīn gives us an explicit chronology of these two broad parts, saying that the *Ghazanid Chronicle* was more or less complete and in the process of being given a fair copy when Ghazan Khan passed away on Shawwāl 11, AH 703 [May 17, AD 1304].[9]

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6 The most recent, albeit far from satisfactory, printed edition is Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓlāllāh Hamadānī, ed. Muḥammad Rawshan and Muṣṭafī Mūsawī, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* (Tehran: Nashr-i Alburz, 1994). It certainly does not supersede the relevant portions of the critical text published in Moscow, under the author name Faẓlallākh Rashīd ad-Dīn and title *Dzhāmiʿ at-Tavārīkh*, vol. 1, part 1, ed. A. A. Romaskevich, A. A. Khetagurov, and A. A. Ali-Zade (Moscow: Nauka, 1968) and vol. 2, part 1, ed. A. A. Ali-Zade (Moscow: Nauka, 1980). Two complete translations directly from the Persian have been made, one into Russian and one in English. The Russian was published in three volumes in four, under the author name Rashid-ad-Din and title *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1, part 1, trans. L. A. Khetagurov, ed. A. A. Semenov (Moscow: Academy of Sciences Press, 1952); vol. 1, part 2, trans. O. I. Smirnova, notes by B. I. Pankratov and O. I. Smirnova, ed. A. A. Semenov (Moscow: Academy of Sciences Press, 1952); vol. 2, trans. Yu. P. Verkhovskii (Moscow: Academy of Sciences Press, 1960); and vol. 3, trans. A. K. Arends (Moscow: Academy of Sciences Press, 1946). The English translation was done by Wheeler M. Thackston and published under the author name Rashiduddin Fazlullah and the title *Jamiʿu't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols*, in three volumes with continuous pagination (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1999–98). Although the Russian translation was done in a more scholarly and systematic fashion, it was done long ago. John A. Boyle's *Successors of Genghis Khan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971) is, for the reigns it covers from Ögödei to Temür qa'ans, probably the best translation available. But none is infallible, and given the textual and interpretive difficulties, it is advisable for any given passage to consult all available translations as well as the printed editions. Professor Kazuhiko Shiraiwa's critical edition of the pre-Chinggisid histories is eagerly awaited.

7 This also includes the history of the Uyghurs as he notes: "Since unusual events that are related and some of the beliefs they hold, as told by them, have been relegated to a separate history of the Uyghurs and appended to this blessed history, only a summary account will be given." (RD/Thackston, p. 75; RD/Khetagurov, p. 147; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 337; RD/RM, p. 140). This Uyghur history was apparently intended to be appended to the history of Oghuz, but never written. See Karl Jahn, "Zu Rašīd al-Dīn's Geschichte der Oġuzen und Türken," *Journal of Asian History* 1, No. 1 (1967), p. 45.

8 Karl Jahn has been the main researcher in the study of the world history. See the items in the bibliography under his name. The history of China has been edited and translated in Wang Yidan, *Bosi Lashite "Shiji-Zhongguo shi" yu wenben fanyi* (Beijing: Kunlun Press, 2006). The *Oghuz Nāmeh* section of the "Chronicle of the Oghuz" has been translated into Russian by R. M. Shukiurova, and the Seljuq section of the same chronicle has been translated in English by Kenneth Luther; see *The History of the Saljuq Turks from the Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh: An Ilkhanid Adaption of the Saljūq-Nāma of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī,* ed. C. Edmund Bosworth (London: Routledge, 2001).

9 RD/Khetagurov, p. 41; RD/Thackston, p. 3; RD/Romaskevich et al., 2; RD/RM, p. 2.

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The second part was then initiated by Ghazan's successor, Kharbanda Öljeitü Khan, and the composition of the second part proceeded at the same times as the completion of revisions of the first. The death of Sultan Öljeitü in 1316 and the date of the earliest securely dated MS of the whole history, the Istanbul MS(S), at the end of Shaʿbān AH 717 (late November, 1317), together establish a *terminus ante quem* (latest possible date) for the completion of that part.[10]

Within the *Ghazanid Chronicle*, the account is divided into "histories" (*dāstān*) of each khan. These histories are in turn are divided into three parts (*qism*): 1) an account of the khan's genealogy (introduced with the phrase *dar taqrayr nasab* 'on the lineage of …') with "records" (*dhikr*) of the khan's wives and children; 2) the "annals and episodes" (*taʾrīkh wa ḥikāyat*) or history proper, relating the activities of the khan in chronological order; and 3) a section of undated miscellaneous praiseworthy sayings or anecdotes. A chart of the khan's wives, children, and sons-in-law is attached to the first section. In practice, for most of the khans the third section is absent or rudimentary. The annals of Chinggis Khan have two additional sections: 1) a "Year-by-Year Chronicle" of the khan's activities, and 2) a "Record (*dhikr*) of Commanders of ten thousand and of a thousand and of the armies of Chinggis Khan."[11]

Finally, the *Ghazanid Chronicle* has three initial sections: 1) a list of places where the Turks (including the Mongols) dwell; 2) the so-called "Tribal Section" which gives accounts of the various Turco-Mongolian *aqwām* (traditionally translated as "tribes" but here clearly including groups ranging from aristocratic houses to royal dynasties); and 3) the stories of the ancestors of Chinggis Khan. These stories are more abbreviated than those of the khans from Chinggis Khan's time, having only two sub-parts: 1) an "introduction" (*dībācheh*) to the ancestor and his sons; and 2) a variously titled miscellaneous section covering his relationships and occasionally his deeds, but usually

10 Shiraiwa Kazuhiko, "Rashīdo-Uddīn 'Rekishi shūsei' genson shahon mokuroku," *Sankō shoshi kenkyū*, vol. 53 (2000), p. 15, and the discussion in Romaskevich et al., "Introduction," p. 4. Earlier dates, that of 1316 hypothesized for La (British Library Add. 16688) and 1304 for T (Majlis Library 2294), are hypothetical; see pp. 11 and 10 of Shiraiwa's paper above.

11 Although this section was completed in the *Ghazanid Chronicle* only for Chinggis Khan, in the *Shuʾab-i panjgāneh* a similar register was added to the genealogy of every single khan from Chinggis Khan on. On these lists of commanders, see Qiu Yihao, "Yili-han guo de chengli: yimi, buzu, jituan – yi 'Wuzupu' (Xuliewu~Ahema) wei zhongxin," *Yuan shi ji minzu yu bianjiang yanjiu jikan*, vol. 27 (2014), pp. 151–86, and Kim Hodong. "Qubilai's Commanders (*Amīrs*): A Mongol Perspective," *AEMA* 21 (2014–15), pp. 147–60. On the composition of these registers and the *Shuʾab-i panjgāneh* more generally, see Akasaka Tsuneaki, "'Gozokufu' to 'Shūshi' hensan," *Shikan*, 130 (1994), pp. 47–61, and "'Gozokufu' Mongoru bunshi to 'Shūshi' no kankei," *Waseda Daigaku daigakuʾin bungaku kenkyūka kiyō*, 4, no. 4 (1996), pp. 27–41.

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quite brief. A genealogical chart is appended at the end of the second section. (In the main histories, genealogical charts are appended to the conclusion of their part 1).

The sequence of composition among these chapters may be established by the language Rashīd al-Dīn uses in making cross-reference between the different sections. Given the repetitive structure in which, for example, one commander's actions might be treated first in the "Tribal Section," then in the "Annals and Episodes" of Chinggis Khan, and finally in the "Record of Commanders," Rashīd al-Dīn often notes that this topic "will be" or "has been" treated more extensively elsewhere in another section. The particular tense used will then help establish the sequence, particularly where the sequence thus established contradicts the reading sequence. Another clue to compositional order is the use of the phrase *inshāʾAllāh* ("God willing") which Rashīd al-Dīn frequently uses when completing one compositional unit and is about to begin another. This term first appears at the conclusion of the "History of Yisükei Ba'atur" (Chinggis Khan's father) when Rashīd al-Dīn recounts the birth of Chinggis Khan and concludes "This will be mentioned in the History of Chinggiz Khan, God willing." In general such "God willing" phrases link the histories of the rulers from Yisükei Ba'atur through to Temür Öljeitü Qa'an and show that for those histories the narrative order was the order of composition.

However, these phrases also establish that the "Record of Commanders," the "Tribal Section" and the histories of the predecessors of Yisükei were all added well after the composition of the "History of Chinggiz Khan" and possibly even after the composition of the histories of some or all of the sons of Chinggis Khan.[12] This may be seen in following passages:

1. Twice in the "History of Chinggiz Khan" Rashīd al-Dīn refers in the future tense, and once with the phrase "God willing," to the stories that later appear in the "Tribal Section":

12 The "Year-by-Year Chronicle" of Chinggis Khan appears to have been written in sequence, immediately after his regular "Annals and Episodes" and before the third section of various sayings. At the conclusion of the "Annals and Episodes of Chinggiz Khan" he writes: "Now that the chronicle of Chinggiz Khan that was recorded in books, scrolls, and chronologies has been written, partially in general and partially in detail, we wanted to add to what has been described a summary account of what occurred throughout his life as a chronology so that those who so desire can learn of those events in a summary fashion and know with what he was occupied during each year and not have to look back and reread" (RD/Smirnova, p. 246; RD/Thackston, p. 284; RD/RM, p. 559). At the conclusion of the chronology he writes, "Now that we are finished with the chronicle of Chinggiz Khan by the years of his life, we will complete the third section" (RD/Smirnova, p. 259; RD/Thackston, p. 292; RD/RM, p. 580). The "Record of Commanders" was thus written last of all the sections on Chinggiz Khan, and probably not by the same team.

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a. First with regard to the Naiman: "The ruler of the Naiman, Tayang Khan, also had a brother called Buyuruq Khan; he will be mentioned later in the history of the Naiman. He has been mentioned here lest the two be confused in the mind."[13]

b. Second, with regard to the Öng'üt dynasty: "This story will come in the proper place, God willing."[14]

(It is noteworthy that in both these sections MSS in the A family [including the Tashkent and Istanbul MSS taken as base texts by the Russian translators and by Rawshan and Mūsavī's printed edition, respectively] alter these phrases in ways that clearly reflect an awareness of the discrepancy between the compositional sequence and the narrative sequence. Thus, the phrase "History of the Naiman" was omitted in the first instance, and the second instance was altered to "this has been recorded in the previous volume. And that is all." These alterations confirm that the A family was produced by revision only after the final completion of the entire project.)[15]

2. In the "History of Chinggiz Khan," Rashīd al-Dīn also refers to his "Record of Commanders," along with that of his history of Chinggis Khan's four sons as something yet to be composed: "Aside from those [sections] we will write for each [of his four sons], there are many stories connected to these four sons that will come in the course of the narrative about Chinggiz Khan. From these will be learned the commanders and armies that were formed and given to each son. There also the particulars of the commanders will be given, God willing."[16] Since the "Record of Commanders" actually follows the "Annals and Episodes," this would not establish a difference between the compositional order and the narrative order. However, as Kim Hodong[17] has shown conclusively on the basis of detailed analysis, the "Record of Commanders" was compiled on the basis of the data in the "Tribal Section" and must postdate it. This is confirmed by the repeated references in the "Record" to previously cited

13 RD/Thackston, p. 174; cf. RD/Smirnova, p. 108; RD/RM, p. 360.

14 RD/Thackston, p. 201; cf. RD/Smirnova, p. 146; RD/RM, p. 415.

15 On the process of revision that produced the A family, see Uno Nobuhiro, "Rashīdo-uddīn 'Shūshi' no zōho kahitsu no purosesu," *Ningen kankyōgaku kenkyū*, 1, no. 1/2 (2003), pp. 39–62, and "'Shūshi' dai 1 kan 'Mongoru shi' no kōtei tekisuto wo meguru shomondai," in *Mongoru shi kenkyū: genjō to tenbō*, ed. Yoshida Jun'ichi (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2011), pp. 44–64.

16 RD/Smirnova, p. 70; RD/Thackston, p. 147; RD/RM, p. 301.

17 Kim Hodong. "Reappraisal of the 'Register of Chiliarchies' in *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*," in *Rashīd al-Dīn as an Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran*, ed. Anna Akasoy, Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, and Charles Burnett (London: Wartburg Institute, 2013), pp. 89–114.

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> histories. Of these the following is most conclusive: "The history of Jädäi Noyan and his relatives has already been given in detail in the section on the Mangqut."[18]

As I have already demonstrated in a paper on the genealogies of Chinggis Khan,[19] his history was first drawn up with a genealogical scheme which differs from the one actually found in the histories of Chinggis Khan's predecessors. Only after compiling his "History of Chinggiz Khan," did Rashīd al-Dīn gain access to the *Altan debter* (on which see more below), and on the basis of this work altered his account of the genealogy of Chinggis Khan. Thus every reference to the *Altan debter*, which occurs once in the "Tribal Section," twice in the histories of Chinggis Khan's ancestors, and once in the "Record of Commanders," must postdate the composition of the first draft of the "History of Chinggiz Khan."[20] That the "Tribal Section" was composed independently from the "History of Chinggiz Khan" is also established by the numerous minor differences in transcription, and occasional cases of divergent commentary between the two. (This will be discussed later.)

It also seems that the account of the ancestors of Chinggis Khan was originally written very briefly and then extensively rewritten and expanded after Rashīd al-Dīn had written the "Tribal Section." This emerges not only from the role of the *Altan debter*, but also from a peculiar passage at the beginning of the section on Chinggis Khan's ancestors. In this account, Rashīd al-Dīn begins by situating the Mongols as outside Alexander's wall. The passage describing this wall is clearly derived from the biography of the Öng'üt nobles, and Rashīd al-Dīn explicitly mentions this fact. But he then states that he will explain this in detail in the future: "In Chinggiz Khan's time, their leader, Ala-Qush Tegin by name, joined Chinggiz Khan, who assigned him to the wall, a bit of which has already been stated in the section on the Öng'üt. This will all be explained in detail later in its proper place, God willing."[21] One might think that the "explanation in detail" is referring to the sequentially subsequent passage in the "History of Chinggiz Khan," but in fact that passage is much less detailed than the sequentially previous passage in the "section on the Öng'üt." I think this contradiction can be resolved by positing that the passage has been rewritten. Originally, this passage was written before the "section on the Öng'üt" and the reference to explaining it in detail is a reference to the future composition

18 RD/Smirnova, p. 268; RD/Thackston, p. 273; RD/RM, p. 595.

19 Christopher P. Atwood, "Six Pre-Chinggisid Genealogies in the Mongol Empire," *AEMA* 19 (2012): pp. 5–57.

20 See Atwood, "Six Pre-Chinggisid Genealogies in the Mongol Empire," pp. 25–34.

21 RD/Thackston, p. 113; cf. RD/Smirnova, p. 8 (the Tashkent MS omits the "God willing"); RD/RM, p. 216.

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of that section. But later on, when the "Tribal Section" had been written, the reference to what "has already been stated in the section on the Öng'üt" was added as a cross-reference. But the now obsolete reference to what would be "explained in detail later on" was accidentally not eliminated.

If this scenario is correct, then at least some material on the remote ancestors of Chinggis Khan was written before the "Tribal Section," although the bulk of it was written after the "Tribal Section." As I have mentioned, the account of Yisükei Ba'atur, which is quite brief and uninformative, except on his sons, was definitely written before that of Chinggis Khan. Most likely similarly brief and uninformative material on the predecessors was originally written before being recast and expanded later after the "History of Chinggiz Khan" had been completed.

Two passages seem to indicate that while the "Tribal Section" and "Record of Commanders" was written after the completion of the "History of Chinggiz Khan," they still predated that of most of his sons. The account of the Uyghurs concludes with the following phrase: "Other things that happened to them during this period [i.e. during the reign of Chinggis Khan's grandsons] will be reported in the proper places, God willing."[22] This appears to be a reference to the account of the execution of one of the Uyghur rulers at the beginning of Möngke Qa'an's reign (summarized from Juwaynī's famous chronicle).[23] In the "History of Toluy Khan," he mentions "Inasmuch as the entirety of the armies and right-and left-wing commanders of ten thousand and one thousand were written in detail at the end of Chinggiz Khan's history, it can be learned from there what he gave to the other sons, what he gave to his brothers, and which they are."[24] This would imply that the "Record of Commanders," which postdated the "Tribal Section," preceded the composition of the "History of Toluy Khan." However, this reference does not contain any clear expression establishing temporal sequence, such as "God willing," and could easily have been added in subsequently to the composition of Toluy's history.

One can also note that the histories of Möngke Qa'an and of Ghazan Khan both contain references to Qutula Qa'an dancing at Qorqonaq Jubur, an episode which is mentioned in the *Secret History of the Mongols* §57, but is not found in the stories about Qutula Qa'an found in the account of the predecessors of Chinggis Khan. In his history of Möngke Qa'an, Rashīd al-Dīn writes: "Möngke Qa'an held a *quriltai* for everyone in Qorqonoq Jubur, which is

22 RD/Khetagurov, p. 149; RD/Thackston, p. 76; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 342; RD/RM, p. 141.

23 See RD/Verkhovskii, pp. 138–39; RD/Boyle, p. 215; RD/Thackston, p. 409; RD/RM, pp. 839–40.

24 RD/Verkhovskii, p. 108; RD/Boyle, p. 164; RD/Thackston, p. 384; RD/RM, p. 785.

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situated in the middle of Mongolia – it was at this place that Qutula Khan danced with his liege men so much beneath a tree when he had achieved a victory that the earth sank into a ditch."[25] The same episode at Qorqonaq Jubur is referred to again in the history of Ghazan Khan, when the royal entourage camped at Besutun in the late summer or fall of AH 702 (AD 1302). There Bolad Chingsang told the story of how Qutula Qa'an had danced around a tree when he achieved victory:

> One day it happened that he had mounted to do battle with the Merkit. While on the road he came across a tree, dismounted, and spoke to God, asking him for victory and swearing that, if he triumphed over his enemy, he would make that tree a shrine for himself and decorate it with pieces of colored cloth. God did give him victory over his enemy, and afterwards he returned to the tree, which he decorated as he had sworn, in gratitude to the creator. He and his soldiers danced beneath that tree, and they stomped so hard that the area around the tree sank a yard into the earth.[26]

Yet the "History of Qutula Qa'an" contains neither any campaign against the Merkit or any dancing at Qorqonaq Jubur.[27] Had these histories of Möngke and Ghazan been written before the account of Chinggis Khan's ancestors, Rashīd al-Dīn would undoubtedly have included this anecdote, especially as it was given on the authority of Bolad Chingsang. Indeed, since Rashīd al-Dīn was likely present at the camp near Besutun, one could assume that he heard the story from Bolad Chingsang personally on that occasion – had he not already finished his account of these ancestors it would likely have been added in.

Thus while the "Tribal Section" certainly predated the composition of the "History of Möngke Qa'an" it could possibly post-date the histories of Chinggis Khan's sons. In fact, the close link of the "Record of Commanders" with the distribution of troops to Chinggis Khan's sons suggests that Rashīd al-Dīn

25 RD/Thackston, p. 413; cf. RD/Verkhovskii, p. 145; RD/Boyle, p. 223; RD/RM, p. 849.

26 RD/Thackston, pp. 653–54; cf. RD/Arends, pp. 192; RD/RM, p. 1308.

27 There is a reference in the "History of Qutula Qa'an" to his origin in what is called Ghūrqūtās, which is paired with another valley called Adār Jūbūr (RD/Smirnova, p. 39; RD/RM, p. 257). I would suggest that this is a mis-copied reference to Ghorqonaq and [Atar] Jubur. But this material is found only in a plus pericope in the Tashkent MS and other MSS of the A or Istanbul family. As I will discuss below, these MSS stem from one of the final recensions of the *Compendium of Chronicles* produced over a decade after the first MSS of the work had appeared from his workshop. The lapse of time and the corruption in the spelling of the Mongolian original in the plus pericope made Rashīd al-Dīn unable to identify this new material with the old story of Qorqonaq Jubur.

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may have waited until after he had completed all of their histories before going back and compiling the closely linked "Tribal Section" and the "Record of Commanders." Writing those two sections in turn would have sparked further research on the pre-Chinggisid period, which led to securing a copy of the *Altan debter* and thoroughgoing revision of his previous genealogical scheme.

2 Rashīd al-Dīn's Attitude towards and Handling of His Mongolian Material

Although Rashīd al-Dīn cites the chronicles of both ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī by name[28] and relies on them extensively, there is ample evidence that for him it was the Mongolian language sources which he valued most highly.[29] This fact emerges particularly clearly from his handling of the *Authentic Chronicle of Chinggis Khan* (*ACCK*), a bilingual Mongolian-Chinese work, which was his primary source on the history of imperial founder. I will discuss this work in more detail later, but the key point here is that since there is an independent Chinese translation of the same source, all of Rashīd al-Dīn's citations from it can be accurately identified. This allows us to see what use he made of one of his most important sources, particularly when compared with the use he made of known Persian works, such as Juwaynī's "History [or Chronicle] of the World Conqueror" (*Taʾrīkh-i Jahān Gushā*) or Ibn al-Athīr's "Complete Chronicle" (*al-Kāmil fīʾl-taʾrīkh*). In comparison with them his treatment of the *Authentic Chronicle of Chinggis Khan* is distinguished by the following features: 1) completeness of his citation – as far as I can tell only a single passage of the *ACCK* was allowed to escape citation, although the citations are not always in the proper sequence; 2) frequent duplication – many passages were cited more or less verbatim two or even three times; 3) his estimation of its authority – Rashīd al-Dīn can be

28 Rashīd al-Dīn mentions Ibn al-Athīr while explaining how he proposes to reorganize his material from a purely year-by-year format into a more episodic one (RD/Smirnova, p. 73; RD/Thackston, p. 151; RD/RM, pp. 306–07). Juwaynī as historian is mentioned under the name Khwājeh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ṣāḥib-Dīvān (RD/Verkhovskii, p. 43; RD/Boyle, p. 66; RD/Thackston, p. 330; RD/Ali-Zade, p. 154; RD/RM, p. 674).

29 Rashīd al-Dīn also at points cites Nasawī, the famous biographer of Jalāl al-Dīn Mengüberdi. Thus on the one hand, it obvious to casual inspection that Rashīd al-Dīn's text on the history of Jalāl al-Dīn in 1219–1227 (see RD/Smirnova, pp. 237–44; RD/Thackston, pp. 265–270; RD/RM, pp. 545–55) is abridged from Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 411–38). Yet several names in Rashīd al-Dīn's list of the Tatar commanders (RD/Smirnova, p. 243; RD/Thackston, p. 269; RD/RM, pp. 554) are certainly derived from Nasawi (tr. Houdas, p. 224; tr. Buniiatov, p. 175).

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shown to have believed (quite mistakenly) that the *ACCK* actually dated from the time of Chinggis Khan, and he also followed its (mistaken) chronology of the Khwārazmian campaign rather than the more correct chronology of his Persian sources.

The completeness of citation from the *Authentic Chronicle* can be shown by the attached Table 3.1. Using the section divisions which I have used for my forthcoming study of the *Authentic Chronicle* text, it can be seen that every single one, except for §59, which is a single sentence summary of Chinggis Khan's death, may be found somewhere in Rashīd al-Dīn's work. In the case of §59, Rashīd al-Dīn replaced the text with much longer texts on Chinggis Khan's death derived from other Mongolian sources. But in other places where he decided not to base his "Annals and Episodes of Chinggiz Khan" (i.e. Part 2 of his "History of Chinggiz Khan") on the *ACCK* narrative, he cited them elsewhere. For example, in his account of the campaign against Khwārazm, Rashīd al-Dīn appropriately relied on the vastly more extensive account of Juwaynī's *History of the World Conqueror*. Thus within the main body of the "History of Chinggiz Khan," almost no material from §§48–53 can be found. But this material is the sole source for the "Year-by-Year Chronicle" for the Rabbit, Dragon, Snake, and Horse years (AD 1219–1222).[30] It is also the main source used in the "Annals and Episodes" of Chinggis Khan's sons Jochi, Cha'adai, and Tolui to describe their activities in that campaign.[31] Similarly, sections on Chinggis Khan's conquest of the Tanguts and the Siberian Qïrqïz that were excised from his "Annals and Episodes" appear both within the "Year-by-Year Chronicle" and within the accounts of these kingdoms in the "Tribal Section."[32]

30 Compare the text of the "Year-by-Year Chronicle" for the *Tūlay*, *Luy*, *Moghay*, and *Morin yïl* in RD/Smirnova, pp. 256–57; RD/Thackston p. 291, and RD/RM, pp. 575–577 with the *SWQZL* text for years *yi/mao* 己卯, *geng/chen* 庚辰, *xin/si* 辛巳, and *ren/wu* 壬午.

31 For Jochi, see: RD/Verkhovskii, p. 78; RD/Boyle, pp. 117–18; RD/Thackston, p. 359; RD/RM, pp. 733. For Cha'adai, see: RD/Verkhovskii, pp. 94–95; RD/Boyle, pp. 146–47; RD/Thackston, p. 374; RD/RM, pp. 763–64. For Tolui, see: RD/Verkhovskii, p. 109; RD/Boyle, p. 165; RD/Thackston, p. 385; RD/RM, pp. 786–87. In his "Annals and Episodes" for Jochi Khan, Rashīd al-Dīn follows the *ACCK* rather loosely, but in the "Annals and Episodes" for Chaghatay and Tolui, it is the only source and is followed closely.

32 For the Tanguts, compare the *SWQZL* sections parallel to *ACCK* §§32, 34, and 37.2 with: RD/Smirnova, pp. 149–50, 151, 153–54 (main passages), and pp. 252–53, 253, 254 (year-by-year chronicle, under *Hüker*, *Tūlay*, and *Morin Yïl* respectively); RD/Khetagurov, pp. 143–44 (Biography of the Tangut kingdom); RD/Thackston, pp. 203, 204, 206 with pp. 288–89, 289, 289–90, and p. 73; RD/RM, pp. 420, 421–22, 425, with pp. 570, 572, 573, and p. 135. For the Qïrqïz, compare the *SWQZL* sections parallel to *ACCK* §35 with: RD/Smirnova, p. 151 (main passage), 253 (year by year chronicle under *Tūlay Yïl*); RD/Khetagurov, p. 150 (Biography of the Qïrqïz kingdom); RD/Thackston, pp. 204, 289, 77; RD/RM, pp. 422, 572, 143.

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As these examples show, Rashīd al-Dīn had no problem with citing the same passage from the *ACCK* in two, three, or even four places. This repetitive citation is partly due to his general method but seems particularly common with material taken from the *ACCK*. Very few passages from Juwaynī's *History of the World Conqueror* (for example) are similarly repeated. The only exception I can think of is the passage on Teb Tenggeri, which is cited three times more or less at length.[33] What this pattern indicates is that Rashīd al-Dīn saw the distinctively Mongolian material as the most innovative part of his history, and the part most worth emphasizing for Persian readers through repetition. By contrast, material from Arabic or Persian sources was presumably seen as already being familiar to his audience and hence not so much in need of emphasis.

Rashīd al-Dīn also made his estimation of their relative authority clear in following the *ACCK*'s chronology of the Khwārazm campaign, rather than that of Juwaynī. For reasons that are unclear, the *ACCK* inserted a year-long delay in Chinggis Khan's preparations for the Khwārazm campaign and hence its dates from then on are all one year later than they should be. Thus Chinggis Khan's siege of Bukhārā is put in the spring of *xin/si* 辛巳 (= Year of the Snake), that is, spring, 1221, while Juwaynī places it in Muḥarram, AH 617 (March, 1220).[34] In the main body of his "History of Chinggiz Khan," Rashīd al-Dīn simply puts the two dates together, first saying that the siege occurred in the Year of the Snake, which began in Dhū al-Ḥijja, 617 (i.e. January–February, 1221), but then saying that the Mongol troops arriving in front of Bukhārā in Muḥarram, 617 (March–April, 1220), ignoring the year discrepancy.[35] In the Year-by-Year Chronicle, however, Rashīd al-Dīn simply follows the Snake Year date without referencing any alternative date found in Islamic sources.[36]

Why did Rashīd al-Dīn value the extremely brief account in the *ACCK* over the far more extensive one in Juwaynī? It seems that it was because he believed

33 See RD/Thackston, pp. 89–90 (Biography of the Qongqotan House), 139 (History of Yisükei Ba'atur), and 289 (Year-by-Year Chronicle), all of which are citing Juwaynī's passage on Teb Tenggeri (see Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 39). See RD/Khetagurov, pp. 167–68; RD/Smirnova, pp. 59, 253; RD/RM, pp. 166–67, 287, 571). It is interesting that this passage is cited very briefly with little more than Teb Tenggeri's name in account in the "History of Chinggiz Khan" (RD/Thackston, p. 204; RD/RM, p. 421). The passage in RD/Smirnova, pp. 132–33 (cf. RD/Thackston, p. 65n.; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 275–76; RD/RM, p. 120) on Ong Qa'an's bid to ally with Teb Tenggeri is a plus pericope, not found in the B family. It was presumably based on a newly accessed Mongolian source.

34 Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 102. The actual date is that of 1–10 Dhū al-Ḥijja, 616 (early February, 1220) given by Jūzjānī and Ibn al-Athīr. See Ibn al-Athīr/Richards, pp. 207–09) and Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 976–978.

35 Cf. RD/Smirnova, pp. 203 and 205; RD/Thackston, pp. 245 and 246; RD/RM, pp. 496, 498.

36 See RD/Smirnova, pp. 256–57; RD/Thackston, p. 291; RD/RM, p. 576.

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(wrongly) that this Mongolian-language history actually dated from the time of Chinggis Khan. (In fact, it was written in the time of Qubilai Sechen Qa'an, about 15–20 years later than Juwaynī's history). That Rashīd al-Dīn believed this work dated from Chinggis Khan's time emerges from his handling of a parenthetical note in the *ACCK*. As cited in the *Shengwu qinzheng lu*, the Chinese version of the text reads as follows:

> At that time, Tayang Qa'an of the Naiman dispatched his envoy Yoqunan to plot with the ruler of the Öng'üt ruler Ala-Qus Digit-Quri (*Note: This is the present-day Ay-Buqa and his White Tatars*).[37]

The material in italics was a note in the original text, written in half-size characters in the Chinese version. Unfortunately, however, not only did the Mongolian version not survive, but we have in fact no extant example of an in-text note in any Middle Mongolian text, so it is impossible to know how it would have been distinguished from the main text. In this in-text note, the word "present-day" (Chinese *jin* 今), refers to the time of the composition of the work, which we know took place under Qubilai Sechen Qa'an. In fact, Ay-Buqa was the grandson of Ala-Qus Digit-Quri, and ruled the Öng'üt roughly from 1252 to 1279.[38]

Rashīd al-Dīn, however, must have understood this "present-day" (probably Mongolian *edüge*, corresponding to Chinese *jin*) as referring to the time of Chinggis Khan, since he turned Ay-Buqa into a commander of Öng'üt under Chinggis Khan! Thus in his account of the Öng'üt people, Rashīd al-Dīn writes: "During Chinggiz Khan's time, there was an emir of a *hazāra* [thousand] named Ay-Buqa," and in his list of the commanders of a thousand under Chinggis Khan, he adds: "The *hazāra* of the Öng'üt nation … were composed of four [thousands] and their emir was Ay-Buqa."[39] But reading the note this way only makes sense if Rashīd al-Dīn thought the narrative "present-day" referred to Chinggis Khan's time. In other words, he thought the *ACCK*, his main Mongolian source, actually dated from Chinggis Khan's time. Given this mistaken belief, it is not surprising that he preferred its authority to that of Juwaynī's, even on points such as chronology of the Khwārazm campaign where Juwaynī's history was certainly superior.

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37 Jia Jingyan, *Shengwu qinzheng lu jiaoben* (Beijing: Minzu University mimeograph, 1979), II, pp. 129r–131r; Wang Guowei, ed. "Shengwu qinzheng lu jiaozhu," in *Menggu shiliao sizhong* (1926: facsimile rpt. Taiwan: Cheng-chung Press, 1962), pp. 65v–66r/136–37.

38 Zhou Qingshu, *Yuan Meng shizha* (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia University Press, 2001), pp. 66–68, 141.

39 First citation: RD/Khetagurov, p. 141, RD/Thackston, p. 71; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 313; RD/RM, p. 132; second: RD/Smirnova, p. 270; RD/Thackston, p. 275; RD/RM, p. 598.

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Comparison of the "History of Chinggiz Khan" with the *ACCK* also shows how Rashīd al-Dīn dealt with the text once it was translated into Persian (a task he certainly did not do himself). His methodology can be summed up in a word as "expansionistic." This is the term of textual criticism for the habit of scribes to insert short explanatory words or phrases to texts that seem too terse or subject to potential misunderstanding.[40] Rashīd al-Dīn's expansionistic additions sometimes simply pad the text with what in reality is merely extrapolation from what was given by his sources. Sometimes, however, he has evidently done additional research and adds significant data, although not always correctly. In some cases, where the passage has been reduplicated, one can see that the expansionistic additions in one place actually contradict those in another. The frequency of these discrepancies shows that these expansionistic additions were added by independent teams working concurrently on separate sections of the work under his direction.

An example of bland expansionistic readings that actually add no information can be seen in his account of the first Mongol expedition against the Tanguts in 1205. The Chinese of the *ACCK* reads:

> In year *yi/chou* 乙/丑 [1205],[41] we waged war on the Xi Xia 西夏, attacking and destroying Ligir Fort and <Asha->Ginglausi city,[42] pillaging the people heavily and capturing many two-humped camels before returning.[43]

The Mongolian version would have had *hüker jil* or Year of the Cow for *yi/chou* 乙/丑, and Qashin for Xi Xia 西夏. Here is Rashīd al-Dīn's version derived from the same passage:

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40 For a discussion of expansion in MS copying see P. Kyle McCarter, *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), pp. 26–29, 32–36. As a paraphrase, Rashīd al-Dīn is a yet more unrestrained versions of the same tendency.

41 Rashīd al-Dīn has *hūkar yīl* from the Mongolian *hüker jil* "cow year."

42 The *jing* 経 of Ginglausi (modern Mandarin *Jingluosi* 経落思) is taken by medieval and modern editors as a verb "passing through," but the parallels in Rashīd al-Dīn show that it was in fact part of the Mongolian transcription of the name. It was that understanding of *jīng* as a verb which led to the omission of *Asha* 阿沙. Asha is the royal surname of the Tangut kingdom; Rashīd al-Dīn cites the name three times and once out of those three times gives the full name as *Āsākīnklūs, showing that the royal surname was prefixed to the city name, at least in the Mongolian.

43 Rashīd al-Dīn fills this terse entry out with a typically expansionistic version, adding vague and predictable bits of information which may be derived entirely from his sense of what must have happened.

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> When the Hüker Yïl, the Year of the Buffalo that began in Jumādā II 601 [January 1205], commenced auspiciously, Chinggiz Khan arrayed his army and set out on a campaign against Qashin, the territory that is also called Tangqut. When they went there they came first to a fortress called *Līkīr, an extremely impregnable place. They laid siege to it, and in a short while they took it and destroyed all its ramparts and foundations. From there they went to a city called *Kīnk-Lūshī, a really magnificent city. That too they took and plundered. They took and raided some other parts of Tangqut and drove away all the animals they found there. They returned to Chinggiz Khan with much booty and many camels and animals.[44]

Although this version seems much fuller, it actually contains no new information, except the designation of Ligir as an "extremely impregnable place" and Ginglausi as "a really magnificent city." Both designations are rather dubious since the two toponyms are found nowhere else. The addition of "booty" and "animals" to the "camels" in the description of what was taken is a rather obvious addition to make, since it is hardly likely the Mongols took only camels. The note that Qashin is also called Tangqut is a terminological commonplace, which Rashīd al-Dīn adds virtually every time he comes across the name Qashin.

Somewhat more substantive is the kind of information Rashīd al-Dīn adds to his version of §19 of the *ACCK*. The Chinese text reads:

> [Chinggis Khan] mustered his soldiers to attack the chiefs of the Tatar tribe, Alaq-Udur, Kirgha'an Taishi, Chaghur, and Gilte'ür. We battled at the Plains of Dalan-Nemürges and defeated them heavily.

That this attack concerned the Tatars is confirmed by the battle's placement among the Dalan-Nemürges hills in far eastern Mongolia, which was in Tatar territory. But as usual in Mongolian, the designation of them as Tatars must have followed after the list of names. This grammatical construction could leave it somewhat ambiguous whether that designation applied to all of them or just to the last names listed. The Chinese translators took it as applying to all of them, but Rashīd al-Dīn that it applied only to the last two and sought additional information on the other two:

44 RD/Smirnova, pp. 149–50; RD/Thackston, p. 203; RD/RM, p. 420.

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> After that, Chinggiz Khan assembled his troops in one place and mounted to do battle with some Merkit, Tayichi'ut, and Tatar commanders named Alaq Udur of the Merkit, Qirqan Taishi of the Tayichi'ut, and Chaqur and Kelbeker of the Tatar, all of whom were leaders and chiefs of consequence at the time. [Long digression omitted.] When Chinggiz Khan set out to do battle with this group, they met and fought in a place called Talan-Nemürges. Chinggiz Khan defeated and plundered them, but some managed to escape and regroup.[45]

The point that "some managed to escape and regroup" is an expansionistic touch, deduced by Rashīd al-Dīn from the simple fact that subsequent passages of the *ACCK* detail more campaigns against the Merkit, Tayichi'ut, and Tatars – had the campaigns killed them all, there would have been no such enemies left for subsequent campaigns.

With Alaq-Udur and Kirgha'an/Qirqan Taishi, however, he had – or thought he had – independent information to the effect that Alaq-Udur was a Merkit and Kirgha'an/Qirqan Taishi a Tayichi'ut. But in the "Tribal Section", however, Rashīd al-Dīn describes Alaq-Udur and Qīrqīr~Qīrqīz (< *Qīrqan) Taishi as sons of the Tatar lord Me'üjin-Se'ültü.[46] Thus his research assistants working on the "History of Chinggiz Khan" read and interpreted the passage in one way, drawing on one body of outside information or speculation, while those working on the "Tribal Section" did it another way, drawing on a different body of information or speculation. That they worked independently is emphasized also by the different transcriptions of the name Kirgha'an, which became Qīrqān in one version and *Qīrqan in another. Such minor differences in transcription between the two sections are quite common, and show that the "Annals and Episodes" team and the "Tribal" team worked independently from the same Mongolian original.

This was not the only piece of information with which Rashīd al-Dīn supplemented the text. The name Alaq-Udur he found in another Mongolian document, a wise saying by an *ügechi* or "speaker"[47] of the Baya'ut, which assessed the ambitions of the political figures in the pre-Chinggisid world,

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45 RD/Smirnova, pp. 118–19; RD/Thackston, p. 181; RD/RM, p. 376.

46 RD/Khetagurov, p. 106; RD/Thackston, p. 46; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 174; RD/RM, p. 82. As Pelliot already noted (*HCGK*, pp. 429–30), the "Olan-Udur" and "Qutuqtu Taishi" of Berezin and Thackston are bad readings for Ālāq-Ūdūr and Qīrqan Tāyshī.

47 Most MSS have for his title *aūkʌḥī* (A, S, C, and L) which may be easily derived from *a*ūkījī*, which would be a regular transcription of Mongolian *ügechi* "speaker." The word is attested in exactly this sense of an eloquent spokesman in a recently discovered historical fragment; see György Kara, "Mediaeval Mongol Documents from Khara Khoto

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and concluded that Temüjin would certainly triumph. Rashīd al-Dīn cites this *bilik* or wise saying twice, once in the "History of Chinggiz Khan" and once in the Biography of the Baya'ut houses.[48] Comparing the two versions, they look like two free translations from a single Mongolian source, showing again that the "Annals and Episodes of Chinggiz Khan" and the "Tribal Section" used much the same written Mongolian source material, but translated them independently. Since this source also mentioned Alaq-Udur, Rashīd al-Dīn cited it *in extenso* it the "Annals and Episodes" as well, with the following somewhat apologetic comment: "This digression has been introduced here only because Alaq-Udur was mentioned. Let us return to the narrative."[49] By "narrative" here, he actually means the *ACCK* which forms his base text. The original Mongolian of the wise saying apparently simply mentioned names of various contenders, but with this text as well, Rashīd al-Dīn added identifications, thus designating Alaq-Udur as a Merkit in the "Annals and Episodes" text and as a Tatar in the Baya'ut biography version, again showing how his research assistants translated and expanded the text in different ways.

A striking example of how texts were expanded in different ways at different points in the composition process is provided by the *Ghazanid Chronicle's* four different citations from the *ACCK* §21.3 on how a failed marriage proposal caused hostility between Chinggis Khan and his Kereyit patron Ong Qa'an. The Chinese translation reads:

> At this time, His Majesty sought to arrange a marriage of Ong Qa'an's Cha'ur Beki with the Crown Prince Jochi. Ong Qa'an's grandson Tusagha likewise sought His Majesty's princess Qo'achin Beki. But neither was agreeable and from this time on they became somewhat unfriendly.[50]

By comparing the Chinese translation with the somewhat different parallel in the *SHM* §165, which probably derives from a common source, the Mongolian can be reconstructed. As usual, the Chinese-style terminology must be discounted; "His Majesty" (*shang* 上) was certainly "Chinggis Qa'an" in Mongolian and the "Crown Prince" (*taizi* 太子) is an addition in the Chinese. Likewise, the

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and Eastern Turkestan in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 9 (2003): p. 6.

48 "Annals and Episodes of Chinggiz Khan," see: RDin/Smirnova, p. 119; RD/Thackston, p. 181; RD/RM, p. 376; Biography of the Baya'ut House: see RD/Khetagurov, p. 177; RD/Thackston, p. 97; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 464–65; RD/RM, pp. 180–81.

49 RD/Smirnova, p. 119; RD/Thackston, p. 181; RD/RM, p. 376.

50 Jia Jingyan, *Shengwu qinzheng lu jiaoben*, 11, pp. 72r–73r; Wang Guowei, ed., "Shengwu qinzheng lu jiaozhu," p. 41r/89.

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Mongolian of this passage, judging from the parallel in the *SHM* §165 probably had just "our" (*bidan-u*)[51] for "His Majesty's princess" (*shang gongzhu* 上公主). The name of princess on the Mongol side, Qo'achin Beki, appears to be a variant reading in the *ACCK* for the name Qochin Beki which it had originally. Finally, while the Chinese spoke of "Ong Qa'an's Cha'ur Beki" (*Wang Kehan Chao'r Baiji* 王·可汗抄兒·伯姬),[52] the *SHM* refers much more precisely to *Senggüm-ün döi* "Senggüm's younger sister." For reasons that are not clear, the *ACCK*, whether in Mongolian or Chinese, preferred not to be so explicit on the familial relations. The Chinese just call her "Ong Qa'an's" (i.e. belonging to Senggüm's father), while the Mongolian, judging from the citations in the *Ghazanid Chronicle*, just called her "Senggün's Cha'ur Beki." Finally, the Mongolian version used by Rashīd al-Dīn appears to have mis-written Tusagha, inserting a *-b-* that does not belong there. The Mongolian version of the *ACCK* may thus be confidently reconstructed as follows:

> At this time, Chinggis Qa'an sought to arrange a marriage of Ong Qa'an's Cha'ur Beki with Jochi. Ong Qa'an's grandson Tusagha likewise sought our Qochin Beki. But neither was agreeable and from this time on they became somewhat unfriendly.

The original was thus ambiguous on the exact genealogy of the two brides proposed in this exchange, Cha'ur Beki and Qochin Beki.

The different citations show different ways of disambiguating the text. This passage is cited in the "Annals and Episodes of Chinggiz Khan":

> That winter Chinggiz Khan requested Säng'ün's sister, Cha'ur Beki, for his eldest son, Jochi Khan. Ong Khan requested Chinggiz Khan's daughter Qochin Beki for Säng'ün's son Tus-Buqa, but [neither match] took place, which occasioned rancor between them.[53]

Here both of the princesses are made daughters of the two main leaders, Ong Qa'an and Chinggiz Khan. But in the "Year-by-Year Chronicle" under the *Noqai* or Dog Year, the genealogy was expanded differently:

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51 Wulan [Ulaan], *Yuanchao mishi* (*jiaokan ben*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), p. 172b.

52 The Wang Guowei edition has "Ong Qa'an's daughter Cha'ur Beki" (*Wang Kehan nü Chao'r Baiji* 王 • 可汗女抄兒 • 伯姬. "Daughter" (*nü* 女) is, however, an expansionistic addition, derived from harmonization with the *YS* text (*YS* 1.9), as may be demonstrated from an examination of the manuscript tradition.

53 RD/Thackston, p. 184; cf. RD/Smirnova, p. 122; RD/RM, p. 381.

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> It was at that time that Chinggiz Khan requested the daughter of Säng'ün, Ong Khan's son, for marriage to his son Jochi. Säng'ün requested Jochi's daughter for his son. Because the marriages were not concluded there were bad feelings on both sides.[54]

Here, Cha'ur Beki and the (unnamed) Qochin Beki are made granddaughters of the main figures.

Since the passage involved the Kereyit, the passage was cited in the account of that kingdom too. In this case, however, the editors of the "Tribal Section" and the editors of the "Annals and Episodes" disambiguated the text in the same way:

> Ong Khan's daughter by Säng'ün's mother was requested for marriage to Chinggiz Khan's son Jochi, but she refused, and this created ill feeling. Her name was Cha'ur Beki. Chinggiz Khan's daughter who was requested for Säng'ün's son was named Qochin.[55]

These passages on their face differ, due to the differing genealogy given Cha'ur Beki, either as Ong Qa'an's daughter and Senggün's sister ("Annals and Episodes of Chinggiz Khan," Biography of the Kereyit Kingdom) or as Ong Qa'an's granddaughter and Senggün's daughter ("Year-by-Year Chronicle"). But as the citation from the Chinese translation of the *ACCK* shows, the variation was possible only because the original did not actually state what Cha'ur Beki's relation to Ong Qa'an was – she was of Ong Qa'an's family, but no more information was provided than that. Similarly, Qochin (or Qo'achin Beki) was "ours," but exactly how she was related to Chinggis Khan and his son Jochi was not stated. But what was quoted in all four passages was the statement derived from the Mongolian original that the marriage did not take place, thus causing "displeasure" or "ill feeling."

Finally, the passage was also cited in the "Record of Chinggiz Khan's Children":

54 RD/Thackston, p. 287; cf. RD/Smirnova, p. 251; RD/RM, p. 568.

55 RD/Thackston, p. 65; cf. RD/Khetagurov, p. 132; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 273; RD/RM, p. 119.

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> The eldest daughter was Qochin Beki. She was first requested for Säng'ün's son and Ong Khan's grandson Tusan-Buqa, but the union did not take place, and that occasioned displeasure.[56]

Here it is striking that the Mongolian name of Senggün's son is given differently from in the main "Annals and Episodes" text, not as Tus-Buqa (TWS BWQ'), but as Tusan-Buqa (TWS'N BWQ'). Such a difference would seem to involve a difference in the actual Mongolian text, not just in the Persian transcription. As a result we may conclude that in the composition process more than one Mongolian language copy of the *ACCK* circulated, and that on occasion one or both of these copies suffered corruption at certain places, thus diverging from the master copy from which they had been made.

In summary then, Rashīd al-Dīn shows the following tendencies in his citations from known Mongolian sources, especially the *ACCK*: 1) to cite Mongolian sources more or less whole although not necessarily always in sequence; 2) to highlight favored passages found in Mongolian sources by citing them multiple times; 3) to cite them via Persian translations prepared by his research assistants, which incorporated sometimes varying transcriptions, various expansionistic additions, and sometimes conclusions of independent research. As a result, we may also conclude that where we find one or more passages that closely recall other passages, albeit with differences in transcription, identifications, or disambiguation of transcriptions[57] and unclear points, there we may legitimately suspect the likelihood of citation from a Mongolian source. Repetition is thus a valuable, although not of course infallible (remember the case of Teb Tenggeri), clue to the possibility of citation from a Mongolian source. Whether this Mongolian source is a written one or an oral report may vary. In the case analyzed above, the original was the Mongolian text of the *ACCK*. But in another case which I have recently analyzed, the Mongolian original appears to be a report from an envoy from the realm of the Qa'an reporting on the ancestry of his lords, the Qonggirads of Xiningzhou.[58]

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56 RD/Thackston, p. 147 ("Füjin Beki"); cf. RD/Smirnova, p. 70 ("Fudzhin-begi"); RD/RM, p. 301.

57 In the Uyghur script as used for writing Mongolian, there are ambiguities in the reading of the rounded vowels (*o, u, ö, ü*) and in certain consonants (*d~t, g~k, y~j* in initial position, and *j~ch* in medial position). If the text is unpointed, as the *ACCK*, for example, certainly was, even further ambiguities are introduced.

58 Christopher P. Atwood, "Chikü *Küregen* and the Origins of the Xiningzhou Qonggirads," *AEMA* 21 (2014/5), pp. 13–15.

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3 The Main Sources

The rest of this paper will survey the known and hypothesized Mongolian-language sources of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Ghazanid Chronicle*. As mentioned, I will limit my consideration to those sources used for the earlier part of his history, up through the histories of Chinggis Khan's sons.

3.1 *The Authentic Chronicle of Chinggis Khan*

This source is unquestionably Rashīd al-Dīn's major source for the "Annals and Episodes of Chinggiz Khan." Indeed this *Authentic Chronicle* and Juwaynī's *History of the World Conqueror* together form the basic structuring narrative for the entire history up to the mid-1250s. Thus understanding the nature and genre of this history is fundamental to assessing the *Ghazanid Chronicle* as a source.

The term "Authentic Chronicle" (Chinese *shilu* 實錄) genre refers to an annalistic history of a single reign. According to the model developed during the Tang dynasty, such *Authentic Chronicles* were supposed to be composed after the end of the reign, by the emperor's immediate successor on the basis of "Diaries of Activity and Repose" (*Qiju zhu* 起居注), composed daily at the court.[59] "Authentic Chronicles" of a dynastic founder are, however, always distinctive in that the dynastic founder has by definition spent much of his life as a private person and thus does not have the kind of documentary basis or orderly court protocol a reigning monarch has. In addition to these factors, the *Authentic Chronicle of Chinggis Khan* was composed almost 50 years after the khan's death, and on the basis of materials that were entirely in Mongolian and composed according to canons and genre expectations largely alien to the East Asian historical tradition. For these reasons, the *Authentic Chronicle of Chinggis Khan* bears little resemblance to the more typical examples of the genre. It is far briefer, lacks any dating more precise than the month, and more usually only to the season. It has little information on narrowly administrative issues, or on the internal operations of the Mongol court.

59 On the "Authentic Chronicles" (conventionally translated in Sinology as "Veritable Records") as a genre see Denis Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History Under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 119–58, and the three monographs by Xie Gui'an: *Ming shilu yanjiu* (1995), *Zhongguo shiluti shixue yanjiu* (2007), and *Zhongguo yiyi shilu yanjiu* (2013). There is a full English translation of the earliest extant *Authentic Chronicle*. See Bernard S. Solomon, trans. and ed. *The Veritable Record of the T'ang Emperor Shun-tsung* (*February 28, 805–August 31, 805*)*: Han Yü's Shun-tsung Shi Lu* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955).

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As I discuss in my forthcoming critical edition and commentary on the *Shengwu qinzheng lu* 聖武親征録 (*SWQZL*), the *Authentic Chronicle of Chinggis Khan* is known to us from three different independent works drawing on it. The most important is the *Shengwu qinzheng lu* or "Record of the Campaigns of Chinggis Khan." This work combines a virtually complete copy of the Chinese-language *ACCK*, with a much more heavily abridged version of the *Authentic Chronicle* of his son and successor Ögödei Qa'an. The second witness is the first chapter (Chinese *juan* 卷) of the "Basic Annals" (Chinese *benji* 本紀) of Chinggis Khan in the *Yuan shi*, compiled in 1370. This first chapter, which covers Chinggis Khan's reign along with his legendary ancestors, was compiled by abridging the *Authentic Chronicle* and supplementing it with additional material. The third witness is the relevant portions of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Ghazanid Chronicle*, based on a Persian version of the Mongolian original. A fourth witness, and particularly valuable in being the only one in Mongolian, is the *Secret History of the Mongols*, which in some places was used directly as a source by the compilers of the *ACCK* and in other places uses sources which were also quoted extensively by the *ACCK*. In these two cases, then, where the Chinese or Persian of the other witnesses closely matches the meaning of the corresponding *Secret History of the Mongols* passages, the latter can be used to verify what the exact Mongolian would have been.

As shown by my analysis of the *Shengwu qinzheng lu*, the *ACCK* was composed in a bilingual fashion with Mongolian as the primary and Chinese the secondary language. The various source documents, all in Mongolian, were first translated into Chinese with the translations then being attached to the Mongolian in a series of interlinear bilingual documents. Thus, editors who knew only one of the two languages could select and move around the sources without having to be able to read both languages. The Chinese version alone was then used for the *SWQZL* and the first chapter of the "Basic Annals" (*benji*) of the *Yuan shi*. Only the Mongolian version was used for the *Ghazanid Chronicle*, as is shown by the numerous cases where Rashīd al-Dīn's research assistants accidentally transcribed Mongolian case endings and even whole auxiliary words such as *neretü* "named" into Persian.[60]

60 The most egregious example of this mistaken transcription of Mongolian phrases as proper nouns comes in *ACCK* §39.4 where the Persian text, as correctly read by Paul Pelliot, reads **Kīūkīn nāradū jīū-tāy bā Fūwānū nāradū kamkūn*, which is a transcription of the Mongolian *Kiugin neretü cheu-tau ba Wu'anu neretü kamgün*" and in turn means "both the *Cheu-tau* [Bandit-Suppression Commissioner] named Kiugin and the *Kamgün* [Army Inspector] named Wu'anu." See Paul Pelliot, "Sur un passage du *Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*," in *Qingzhu Cai Yuanpei xiansheng 65 sui lunwenji* (Beijing: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan, 1933/35), pp. 934. Another example, likewise deciphered by Pelliot, is the

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The *ACCK* formed the base text for Part II, the "Annals and Episodes," of the "History of Chinggiz Khan." Rashīd al-Dīn added chapter headings, dividing the work into relatively brief narrative segments. With the turning of the Chinggis Khan's attention to Khwārazm, however, Rashīd al-Dīn switched to the *History of the World Conqueror* as his base text, and for the last year of Chinggis Khan he had to replace the extremely brief account in the *ACCK* with a different one. As I have discussed in the previous section, however, the *ACCK* was also summarized more or less completely in the "Year-by-Year Chronicle" in the "History of Chinggiz Khan." Indeed, it is likely that it was the presence of such an annalistic basic source as the *ACCK*, which induced Rashīd al-Dīn to include such an annalistic version of Chinggis Khan's life, something he did for no other Mongol khan. Thus, Rashīd al-Dīn took pains to have the entire text of the *ACCK* included within his text.

The text also implicitly directed Rashīd al-Dīn's further research agenda. It did this both by supplying names (such as Alaq-Udur or Cha'ur Beki in the examples above) which had to be researched and by supplying fundamental concepts or explanations, which shaped his thinking. For example, the conflict between Yisükei Ba'atur's family and the Tayichi'ut that erupted after Yisükei's death is explained in the following way by the *ACCK* (quoting the Chinese from the *SWQZL*):

> In the beginning, the Tayichi'ut clansmen dwelt in remote forests and in olden times had no hatred against us. Later, because of their ruler Adal Qa'an's two sons, Targhutai and Quril Ba'atur, there began to be dissatisfaction, and they gradually separated themselves.[61]

The two elements of this explanation, that the Tayichi'ut were originally forest people, and that while Adal Qa'an was originally friendly, Targhutai Qiriltuq and Quril Ba'atur later created dissension, appear repeatedly in the *Ghazanid Chronicle* as the key points defining the Tayichi'ut and their relationship to the Chinggisid lineage.[62] By contrast, since the *SHM* has no parallel to this passage,

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fossilized Mongolian genitive (*-u*) in *ACCK* §27.4. There we find *Kūsān-ū Chārkāshmeh* for Mongolian *Küsen-ü Cherkesme*(*n*) "The Cherkesmen of Küsen [i.e. Kucha]." See Paul Pelliot, "À propos des Comans," *Journal Asiatique* 11 (1920), pp. 183–84.

61 Jia, *Shengwu qinzheng lu jiaoben*, 1, pp. 3v–4v; Wang, "Shengwu qinzheng lu jiaozhu", pp. 2v–3v/9–11.

62 On Tayichi'ut as forest people, see: RD/Khetagurov, p. 123, RD/Smirnova, p. 47, 84; RD/Thackston, pp. 58, 132, 159, RD/RM, pp. 106, 269, 326. On the contrast of Adal Qa'an's attitude with Targhutai Qiriltuq and Quril Ba'atur's, see: RD/Smirnova, pp. 26, 45, 84; RD/Thackston, pp. 100–01, 123, 131, 159; RD/RM, pp. 188–89, 240, 267, 325.

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the significance of the Tayichi'ut as forest peoples and the enmity of Targhutai Qiriltuq have not been seen as significant in the secondary literature.

4 The "Encomium of Tolui Khan"

Although there were also Authentic Chronicles composed under Qubilai Sechen Qa'an for Chinggis Khan's sons Tolui and Ögödei, and for his grandsons Güyüg and Möngke, none of these were used by Rashīd al-Dīn.[63] These Authentic Chronicles are known today only through citation in the "Basic Annals," chapters 2 and 3, and the biography of Tolui, chapter 115, in the *Yuan shi*, and through the citation of Ögödei's *Authentic Chronicle* in the last part of the *Shengwu qinzheng lu*. From these materials, they appear to be both briefer than the *ACCK* and also qualitatively closer to the Chinese expectations for imperial annals. (As with Chinggis Khan's *Authentic Chronicle*, they were also not based on any "Diary of Activity and Repose" and so their model for imperial annals tended to be not genuine *Authentic Chronicles*, but rather the much briefer "Basic Annals.") Although we know that these later *Authentic Chronicles* were available in Mongolian,[64] they were never used by any Persian historian, to my knowledge.

Yet as I argue in a study of the question of Doqolqu in empire-era historiography,[65] there does seem to be a Mongolian-language history of Tolui that Rashīd al-Dīn did make use of. This history is cited twice, once in Rashīd al-Dīn's "History of Ökötäy Qa'an" and once in the "History of Toluy Khan." In the first case it is intertwined with text on the conquest of the Jin dynasty derived from Juwaynī's *History of the World Conqueror*, and with a text on the destruction of the Altan Khan (the Jin dynasty emperor).[66] In the second it is found more or less whole, covering the period from the death of Chinggis Khan and his year on the imperial throne through the campaigns against

63 On these *Authentic Chronicles*, see Xie Gui'an, *Zhongguo yiyi shilu yanjiu*, pp. 394–96.

64 The *Authentic Chronicles* of Ögödei, Möngke, and Qubilai qa'ans were presented to the throne in Mongolian translation in Yuanzhen 2, XI, *ji/si* (November 30, 1296). See *YS* 19.407, cf. Xie Gui'an, *Zhongguo yiyi shilu yanjiu*, p. 413.

65 Christopher P. Atwood, "Pu'a's Boast and Doqolqu's Death: Historiography of a Hidden Scandal in the Mongol Conquest of the Jin," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 45 (2015): pp. 239–278.

66 As I understand it, this history was the base text, along with Juwaynī's *HWC*, for the sub-chapter "Tolui Khan reaches a place called Tungqan Qahalqa …" See Rashiduddin/Thackston, pp. 314–16; Rashīd al-Dīn/Rawshan and Mūsawī, pp. 640–44. The following chapter "Toqolqu Chärbi does battle with the Khitayan forces …" appears to derive from a separate Mongolian source, focused on relations with the Song.

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the Jin dynasty, and Tolui and Ögödei's return home, Tolui's sacrifice for his brother, Ögödei Qa'an, how his widow acted admirably even while putting up with inconsiderate treatment from Ögödei Qa'an, until finally her son Möngke fulfilled the family's destiny by becoming Qa'an.[67]

Thus defined, the material has close ties both to the *SHM*'s material on Tolui and to the *YS* 115 biography of Tolui. Compared to the former, it shares the following features:

1. Designation of Altan Khan as Seüse
2. Altan Khan appoints Ila, Qada, and Qo-Bögedür as commanders
3. These commanders command Hula'an Degelten troops
4. They defend Tunggon or Tungqan[68] Pass
5. Tolui's movements dislodge them
6. Tolui sacrifices himself as scapegoat for Ögödei's sickness
7. A strong preference for widow chastity (expressed in the Tolui history in explicitly praising his widow Sorghaqtani Beki over Yisükei Ba'atur's widow because Sorqoqtani Beki did not remarry and in the *SHM* implicitly by simply omitting any mention of the remarriage of Chinggis Khan's mother Ö'elün Eke).

Rashīd al-Dīn's account of Tolui's prayer to accept his sacrifice, for example, contains specific verbal resemblances to the text of the prayer in the *SHM*. In the *SHM* first the shamans point out the reason for the illness of the emperor:

> The lords and master of the land and rivers of the Kitad are raging violently as their people have been plundered and their cities and towns are destroyed (§272).[69]

Then Tolui says, arguing for why he should be accepted in Ögödei's place,

67 As I understand it, this history was the base text for all of the sub-chapter "The history of Toluy Khan after his father's death …" and most of the sub-chapter "The history of Toluy Khan's wife, Sorqaghtani Beki, and his sons after his death …" up through the sentence "Without doubt, through the intelligence and competence she possessed she made her sons' rank surpass that of their cousins and got them to the rank of emperor." See Rashid-ad-Din/Verkhovskii, pp. 109–12; Rashīd al-Dīn/Boyle, pp. 166–70; Rashiduddin/Thackston, pp. 385–87; Rashīd al-Dīn/Rawshan and Mūsawī, pp. 787–93. What follows that sentence is Rashīd al-Dīn's own additions, based partly on Juwaynī and partly on his own extrapolations.

68 Varying Mongolian versions of Tongguan 潼關 Pass between Shaanxi and Henan provinces.

69 Wulan, *Yuanchao mishi* (*jiaokan ben*), p. 383a–b.

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> The trout's back was cleft by me
> The sturgeon's back was riven by me;
> Those in front were conquered by me,
> Those outside were pierced by me.
> My face is fair, my back is tall (§272).[70]

Together these two correspond to Rashīd al-Dīn's version of Tolui's words,

> O eternal God, you know that if there is sin, I have sinned more, for I have deprived so many people of life and taken their women and children captive and caused them to weep. If you are taking the Qa'an away on account of beauty and skill, I am better looking and more skilled. Leave him and take me instead.[71]

While Rashīd al-Dīn is more explicit in the reasoning (and seeks a more Perso-Mongolian recipient of the prayer in "eternal God"), the overall structure is identical: first a reference to Tolui as the more effective warrior and then a reference to him as the more handsome man. Rashīd al-Dīn takes the more concrete language of the shamans' inquiry and uses it to make more explicit the *SHM*'s metaphorical language about cleaving trouts and rending sturgeons. And while the *SHM* leaves the comparison implicit (Tolui is better than Ögödei), Rashīd al-Dīn makes it explicit.

Similarly, Rashīd al-Dīn's praise of Tolui's widow Sorqoqtani Beki recalls the praise of Mother Ö'elün in *SHM* §§74–75. In the beginning of the encomium he writes: "Thanks to her ability, when her sons were left by their father, some of them still children, she went to great pains in their education, teaching them various accomplishments and good manners and never allowing the slightest sign of strife to appear amongst them." He then concludes that "There is no doubt that it was through her intelligence and ability that she raised the station of her sons above that of their cousins and caused them to attain the rank of *qa'an*s and emperors."[72] The similarity of these praises cannot be simply derived from the historical facts that both widows raised khans. In fact, with regard to her son Möngke who was the first to become khan, he was actually 23 years old when his father died and before then had been raised in Ögödei's

70 Wulan, *Yuanchao mishi* (*jiaokan ben*), p. 384c.

71 See RD/Thackston, p. 316; cf. RD/Verkhovskii, p. 24; RD/Boyle, pp. 38–39; RD/Ali-Zade, p. 70; RD/RM, p. 644, and in virtually identical words, RD/Verkhovskii, p. 110; RD/Boyle, p. 167; RD/Thackston, p. 386; RD/RM, p. 789.

72 RD/Boyle, pp. 168–70; cf. RD/Verkhovskii, pp. 111–12; RD/Thackston, pp. 386–87; RD/RM, pp. 791–93.

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ordo – so in fact, Sorghaqtani Beki played virtually no role in his rearing and education.[73] Qubilai was 17,[74] so she presumably played a larger role in his raising, but he was hardly a small child when his father died. Conversely, it is a curious fact that the *SHM* praises Ö'elün glorifies her for raising *qat* "rulers,"[75] when in fact only one of her sons, Chinggis Khan, became a khan. But of Sorqoqtani's sons, three became *qa'an* and one was known as *khan*. These discrepancies suggest that the image of Sorghaqtani Beki in this history of Tolui was shaped by that of Mother Ö'elün in the *SHM* and vice versa.

Yet Rashīd al-Dīn's version of Tolui's life differs sharply from the *SHM* in correctly attributing Tolui's campaign against the Altan Khan entirely to Ögödei's reign – *SHM* §251 absurdly displaces a large part of this campaign to Chinggis Khan's reign. This fact means that the *SHM* cannot itself be the source of Rashīd al-Dīn's account, a fact consistent with the consensus position that no Persian historian ever had direct access to that source. Thus one must posit a separate Mongolian source with some relationship to the *SHM*.

On the other hand, this account also has a peculiar relationship with *YS* 115, which was certainly based on the Qubilai Qa'an era *Authentic Chronicle of Tolui Khan*. In general, the *YS* 115 is a much more detailed and accurate account than Rashīd al-Dīn's, but shares with it several distinctive incidents not found in other histories. These include Tolui's actual role as emperor for a year, a failed diversion at Tongguan Pass (Mongolian Tunggon Amasara or Tungqan Qa'algha), a temporary Jin victory over the Mongol rear-guard, another diversion by Qutughu, and the role of sudden snow fall in weakening the Jin troops (in Rashīd al-Dīn's version this is explicitly attributed to a weatherstone, while in the *YS* version this supernatural cause is left unstated).[76] Another shared feature is that neither includes anything about the subject's life before the death of Chinggis Khan, but they both do include more than other such histories about the subsequent history of Tolui's widow and son(s).[77] This relationship would be best accounted for by seeing the *Authentic Chronicle of Tolui*

73 Möngke's birthdate was *wu/chen* XII, 3 (January 10, 1209); see *YS* 3.43. On his being raised in Ögödei's *ordo*, see *YS* 3.43, Rashīd al-Dīn's reference to Möngke's special friendship with Köchü (who died, *pace* some MSS of Rashīd al-Dīn, in Ögödei's reign, before Möngke ever became *qa'an*) may be a result of this fostering in the household of Ögödei. See RD/Verkhovskii, pp. 11–12; RD/Boyle, p. 21; RD/Thackston, p. 306.

74 His birthday was *yi/hai*, VIII, *yi/mao* (September 23, 1215).

75 Wulan, *Yuanchao mishi* (*jiaokan ben*), p. 44a.

76 For a full discussion of these passages, see Atwood, "Pu'a's Boast and Doqolqu's Death."

77 This subsequent history is much more extensive in Rashīd al-Dīn's source than in *YS* 115. *YS* 115 does include Tolui's sacrificial death, brief mention of his wife and children and his honorary titles given under Möngke and Qubilai khans.

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Khan as a Qubilai-era rewriting, by historically more sophisticated editors, of a previous Mongolian-language history which had been used by Rashīd al-Dīn.

To explain these affiliations, I have suggested that Rashīd al-Dīn's Mongolian history of Tolui was an encomium of him and his wife written on occasion of his son Möngke's institution of an annual cult at Köke Na'ur below the Mount Kürel-Gü, at which occasion, he also gave posthumous titles to Chinggis Khan, Ögödei Qa'an, and Tolui Khan.[78] These posthumous titles were expected to be accompanied by an encomium giving the reason for the designation of the title. Also canonized at the same time in such procedures were the emperor's wives, which would likewise demand an encomium of the empress. The text in *YS* 115 mentions one such encomium being presented at "the dynastic altars" (Chinese: *sheji* 社稷, in this case, probably meaning the former *ordo*s or palace tents of Chinggis Khan) to celebrate Tolui's great victory over the Altan Khan's forces at Sanfengshan 三峰山 in 1232. The *SHM*, whose colophon also declares it to have been written in the Mouse Year, which is best identified with 1252, may be based on an encomium written on that occasion for Chinggis Khan and his mother and wife. Tolui and Sorqoqtani's encomium was then used by both Rashīd al-Dīn as well as the compilers of the *Authentic Chronicle of Tolui Khan* who sought to make it more accurate.

5 Genealogies

In my "Six Pre-Chinggisid Genealogies" (pp. 25–34), I analyzed the various lists of Chinggis Khan's ancestors and demonstrated that when he was first planning the *Ghazanid Chronicle* he took as his main source a genealogy that placed eight ancestors between Chinggis Khan and his ancestor Bodonchar. For this reason, since he never names it, I have designated it the "Eight Ancestor Genealogy." Unlike the *SHM*, this genealogy evidently did not contain any ancestor before Bodonchar's mother Alan the Fair and her predeceased

78 In the Chinese references to this cult, Kürel-Gü Mountain is given the cultic name Sun and Moon Mountain (*Riyue shan* 日月山), but that it was indeed Kürel-Gü is evidenced by this *Riyuè shān*'s close association with Köke Na'ur ("Blue Lake"). The *SHM* locates Köke Na'ur "within" Kürel-Gü Mountain; see *SHM* §§89 and 122. On the sacrifices in 1252, see *YS* 68.1691–92, 72.1781, 78.1935, 158.3714, and 160.3769. They were repeated at least once, in 1254 (*YS* 3.48). See also Christopher P. Atwood, "Explaining Rituals and Writing History: Tactics against the Intermediate Class," in *Representing Power in Ancient Inner Asia: Legitimacy, Transmission and the Sacred*, ed. Isabelle Charleux, Gregory Delaplace, Roberte Hamayon, and Scott Pearce (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 2010), pp. 98–99, and "Imperial Itinerance and Mobile Pastoralism: The State and Mobility in Medieval Inner Asia," *Inner Asia*, 17.2 (2015), pp. 311, 312, 314, and figures 1 and 2.

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husband Dobun Bayan. Judging from Rashīd al-Dīn's statements, this source was a written one (he refers to it as a manuscript). The source appears to have used Mongolian terms (transcribed into Persian, but many not found in modern Mongolian) to create a genealogical grid of Chinggis Khan's ancestors, thus proving that it was written in Mongolian. It probably did not include much detailed information on these ancestors, thus resulting in the fairly skimpy coverage of Chinggis Khan's ancestors in the first draft of the *Ghazanid Chronicle*, as I have hypothesized above.

Rashīd al-Dīn also mentions at least one other written source on pre-Chinggisid history, which he did not regard as authoritative. This source omitted Bai Shingqor Dogshin, which the "Eight-Ancestor Genealogy" regarded as Chinggis Khan's fifth generation ancestor. Like the Eight-Ancestor Genealogy, however, this source too regarded Nachin as the son of Tudum Menen and the ancestor of the Tayichi'ut. Although I have called this source the "Seven-Ancestor Genealogy," because it made Bodonchar the seventh-, not the eighth-generation ancestor of Chinggis Khan, it appears from the way Rashīd al-Dīn refers to it that this source might have been more of a history than a pure genealogy. It may be that the reason why Rashīd al-Dīn consulted it even though he did not regard its genealogies as accurate was precisely that it included more narrative content than the "Eight-Ancestor Genealogy."

Unfortunately, there is no way to tell if these genealogies continued past Chinggis Khan's time to become written sources for his genealogies of Chinggis Khan's sons and grandsons. That his genealogies of the descendants of Chinggis Khan's sons did follow primarily some written source(s) is evident from his genealogy of the sons of Jochi. In it, he notes that there is a disagreement between oral sources that say he had nearly forty sons and the written sources which he chose to rely on, which recorded only fourteen. The written sources he mentions once, somewhat vaguely, saying "Jochi Khan's sons who have been related by trustworthy sources are these fourteen."[79] But elsewhere he notes more specifically about the sons of Jochi's eldest son Orda "thus in registers of genealogy that are trustworthy,"[80] proving that it was specifically in a register or registers of genealogy that he found the fourteen names he lists.

79 RD/Verkhovskii, p. 78; RD/Boyle, p. 116; RD/Thackston, p. 355; RD/RM, p. 730.

80 RD/Verkhovskii, pp. 70–71; RD/Boyle, p. 106; RD/Thackston, p. 351; RD/RM, p. 719 (cf. note on p. 1793). RD/Thackston says it is a marginal note introduced into the text and found only in his "JT_{AJ}," by which he means the "anonymous Jalayirid" translation of the *Compendium of Chronicles* into Turki at the end of the sixteenth century (RD/Thackston, p. 293 n. 1). This note is, however, found in the Blochet text, whose base MS was Bibliothèque nationale, MS Supplément persan 209.

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Yet Rashīd al-Dīn also wrote, "Reliable sources say that he had nearly forty sons." Why then did he not follow these reliable sources? He goes on to answer that question, saying "because of the vast distances and because no really informed person could be located, most of the lines have not been ascertained."[81] The explanation indicates that Rashīd al-Dīn would have expected to find the names of the other sons by interviewing persons from the *ulus* of Jochi. This is confirmed by his statement elsewhere that "Trustworthy emissaries who have come at various times from his *ulus* have reported that Jochi's death occurred between his thirtieth and fortieth years."[82] Thus Rashīd al-Dīn was regularly interviewing messengers from the *ulus* of Jochi, so it would make sense that it was they who first told him that Jochi's sons numbered almost forty – unfortunately while "reliable" enough on that fact, they were not "really informed" enough to give the names of all these sons, so Rashīd al-Dīn had to stick with his "registers of genealogy."[83]

Thus, Mongolian-language written genealogies were a significant source of information for Rashīd al-Dīn, one that he acknowledged on several occasions. Yet the precise nature and extent of these genealogies is still extremely obscure. In particular, given the importance of seeing the actual lay-out and *mis en page* to understand genealogies, it is very frustrating that no example of a Middle Mongolian genealogy has survived, according to current knowledge. Thus one can only extrapolate either from empire-era Persian or Chinese language genealogies or from much later Mongol genealogies, neither of which method has yet produced firm results.

6 Biographies

In a paper on Rashīd al-Dīn's ethnography of "tribalism", I pointed out that the so-called "Tribal Section" of his *Ghazanid Chronicle* actually has much in common with the biographies of the Chinese "Annals and Biographies" (*ji-zhuan* 紀傳)-style histories. Such biographies were derived from a Chinese genre of "service biographies," often prepared on occasion of the granting of a high title (usually posthumously). Such an official would be given a rank which would be

81 RD/Verkhovskii, p. 65; RD/Boyle, p. 99; RD/Thackston, p. 348; RD/RM, p. 709.

82 RD/Verkhovskii, p. 79; RD/Boyle, p. 119; RD/Thackston, p. 360; RD/RM, p. 733.

83 My analysis in "Chikü *Küregen* and the Origins of the Xiningzhou Qonggirads," pp. 13–16, confirms that written depositions, taken from envoys and Mongol immigrants to the Ilkhanate, were important sources of information. Like written sources, they were copied out for the various teams and given preliminary translation and commentary before being drawn as sources for the *Ghazanid Chronicle*.

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justified by a history describing the person's merits. In the Chinese tradition, such biographies were usually composed by literati secured by the family and given materials based on both official service documents and family traditions. When, as was commonly the case, the posthumous ranks included previous ancestors, these biographies would cover the entire history of the family.[84] We know little about the exact composition of Mongolian examples but something broadly similar was likely to have been the case – composition by a lettered scribe commissioned by the family to write a history based on family memories and perhaps official documents.

Such biographies could be, and were, then gathered together to become a kind of history of the dynasty as seen through the leading (non-imperial) families. In particular, in sources like the *Yuanchao mingchen shilue* 元朝名臣史略 and the *Yuan shi* 元史 which implicitly divided the biographies into two sections, the first covering those of ethnic Mongol or *semuren* 色目人 (i.e. immigrant or non-Chinese) origin and the second covering Han and Southerners (i.e. people of Chinese origin), the first section, which is formed almost entirely of biographies of Mongolian and Turkic families in the conquest elite, actually looks fairly similar to the "Tribal Section" in the *Ghazanid Chronicle*.

This similarity is made all the more significant by the considerable amount of material in the "Tribal Section" that can be shown to derive from biographical sources also used by the biographies in the *Yuan shi*. Thus the "Tribal Section" was not just inspired by the existence of Mongolian-language "ranked biographies" (*liezhuan* 列傳), but was at least in part constructed to form a suitable vehicle for accommodating such biographies translated from Mongolian into Persian.

An alternative way of incorporating such material was demonstrated by the *Secret History of the Mongols*, which took biographical material, such as the Mongolian original of the biography of Jürchedei and interlarded them into the narrative, partly in chronological location and partly in the section of long speeches which Chinggis Khan makes in *SHM* §203–223.[85] Rashīd al-Dīn did

84 Foundational studies of the Chinese biographical genre include Denis Twitchett, "Problems of Chinese Biography," in *Confucian Personalities*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 24–39, and David S. Nivison, "Aspects of Traditional Chinese Biography," *Journal of Asian Studies* 21, no. 4 (1962): 457–63, and Twitchett, *Writing of Official History Under the T'ang*, pp. 62–83. An outstanding recent study with full reference to debates on the genre is Sarah Schneewind, "Reduce, Re-use, Recycle: Imperial Autocracy and Scholar-Official Autonomy in the Background to the Ming History Biography of Early Ming Scholar-Official Fang Keqin (1326–1376)," *Oriens Extremus* 48 (2009): pp. 103–52.

85 See Christopher P. Atwood, "Alexander, Ja'a Gambo and the Origin of the Jamugha Figure in the *Secret History of the Mongols*," in *Neilu Ouya lishi wenhua guoji xueshu yantaohui*

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make use of this method at some points, adding biographical material about Bo'orchu and Quyildar, for example, to the appropriate chronological spots in the "History of Chinggiz Khan,"[86] but generally used the so-called "Tribal Section" to incorporate the biographical materials he had had translated from Mongolian. At the same time, however, his biographies of tribes, dynasties, and houses were not based solely on written biographies, but usually incorporated written materials from annalistic sources (Mongolian and Persian) as well as material about their successors in the Ilkhanate and short anecdotes or identifications that were likely derived from common knowledge and/or oral tradition.

A good example of how Rashīd al-Dīn could create an ordered biography containing brief biographies of notable members of a particular noble house or kingdom can be seen in the Biography of the Öng'üt kingdom in which all the sources can be identified.[87] In this case source criticism allows his information on the early history and geography of the Öng'üt to be confidently assigned to three separate written sources. One is Juwaynī's *History of the World Conqueror* from which Rashīd al-Dīn took the last part of his account of the Öng'üt, focused on the lives of Chin-Temür, Baysil (~Nawsal) Noyan,[88] and Körgüz. These tell us nothing about the Öng'üt themselves in Inner Mongolia and were clearly not an integral part of any pre-existing narrative on the Ong'ut as a people.[89]

The second of these sources is the Mongolian *ACCK*, from which Rashīd al-Dīn drew a mistaken reference to Ay-Buqa who ruled the Öng'üts from roughly 1252 to 1279 as a commander of the Öng'üt under Chinggis Khan.[90] To this source can also be attributed Rashīd al-Dīn's statement about how "From that time on it has become customary for members of Chinggis Khan's

lunwenji, edited by Teligeng [Terigün] and Li Jinxiu (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Press, 2015), pp. 161–176.

86 On Bo'orchu, see RD/Smirnova, p. 115; RD/Thackston, pp. 178–79; RD/RM, pp. 369–71. On Quyildar, see RD/Smirnova, p. 125; RD/Thackston, pp. 185–86; RD/RM, pp. 384–85.

87 My discussion here builds on Christopher P. Atwood, "Historiography and Transformation of Ethnic Identity in the Mongol Empire: The Öng'üt Case," *Asian Ethnicity* 15, no. 4 (2014): pp. 514–34.

88 On this very puzzling name, see Paul Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1950), pp. 54–55. The only thing to add to his notes are the readings of the Tashkent, Istanbul, and Tehran MSS, which seem to be best understood as Bāysīl (Khetagurov's "Bensil" seems based on a mispointing in the Tashkent MS). Baysil (~Baysal) is attested as a Kazakh name, but how it generated the consistent Nawsal of Juwaynī is still a mystery.

89 See RD/Khetagurov, pp. 141–43; RD/Thackston, pp. 71–72; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 313–20; RD/RM, pp. 132–34.

90 RD/Khetagurov, p. 141; RD/Thackston, p. 71; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 313; RD/RM, p. 132.

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family to intermarry with the Öng'üt," since a direct parallel to the statement is also found in the *Shengwu qinzheng lu*.[91] However, the example which Rashīd al-Dīn uses to illustrate this general statement, that of Qaymish Qatun, the mother of the Ilkhan Arghun, was drawn from his common knowledge of the Ilkhanid court.

Once this material has been subtracted, however, the following material on the early history of the Öng'üt remains:

1. That they were attached to the Altan Khan ("Golden Khan") of Khitay (North China)
2. That they numbered four thousands[92]
3. That the Golden Khan built a wall called *öng'ü* in Mongolian and *yoqurqa* in Turkish
4. "In the beginning the wall was entrusted to the Öng'üt nation, who were made to promise and vow to protect it."
5. That Ala-Qus was a "secret supporter" of Chinggis Khan and "was angry with" the Golden Khan and "turned the wall over to Chinggis Khan" (these statements from within the Tayang Qa'an pericope have no parallel in the *Shengwu qinzheng lu* and must stem from a different source).
6. The story of the coup d'etat, in which the role of Ala-Qus's nephew Shingüi (= Chingüi)[93] is foregrounded but in which neither Ala-Qus's wife Arïq 阿里黑 nor his son Boyauqa 孛要合, who play a prominent role in other versions, are ever mentioned.
7. Finally as the capstone of the narrative, Rashīd al-Dīn mentions the marriage of Shingüi's son Negüdei to a granddaughter of Chinggis Khan, the daughter of his youngest son Tolui.

These seven statements or narrative pericopes[94] about the Öng'üt form a clear narrative arc in which Ala-Qus's children are completely absent. Instead the focus is placed upon the descendants of Ala-Qus's murdered brother Sesui, especially Shingüi (= Chingüi), and his ability to reconstitute the Öng'üt people after the crisis of the coup d'etat against Ala-Qus and the Mongol conquest. Such a history could not have been written after 1252, since in that year

91 Jia, *Shengwu qinzheng lu jiaoben*, II, p. 132r; Wang, "Shengwu qinzheng lu jiaozhu", p. 66r/137.

92 This number differs both from the count of 5,000 found in the *Secret History of the Mongols* §202 and from the count of 10,000 found in the *SWQZL*'s account of the formation of a garrison army in North China (§46); see Jia, *Shengwu qinzheng lu jiaoben*, III, pp. 200r; Wang, "Shengwu qinzheng lu jiaozhu", pp. 90r/185.

93 Chingüi is the standard Turkic or Uyghur pronunciation and Shingüi the Öng'üt dialect pronunciation of Chinese Zhenguo 鎮國. His father was Sesui (Chinese *Sheshu* 攝叔).

94 This term I borrow from Biblical criticism and use for the basic units of a narrative. It is similar to the narreme of Schneewind, "Reduce, Re-use, Recycle," p. 109, etc.

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Negüdei died childless and the line of the Öng'üt princes was returned to the children of Ala-Qus's son Boyauqa. That year is thus the latest possible date for this information in Rashīd al-Dīn. This in turn makes it certain that his source was not oral informants but a written source fortuitously preserving a version of Öng'üt history that by the time Rashīd al-Dīn was writing (in the early fourteenth century) had become quite obsolete (although Rashīd al-Dīn was unaware of that fact). Thus these seven points define the contents of an official biography of the family written sometime after 1237, when Chingüi's son Negüdei became ruler, and before 1252 when he had died and been replaced by his cousin, Boyauqa's son Ay-Buqa.

That this material derives from a written biography of the Öng'üt is confirmed by Rashīd al-Dīn's citation of nos. 1–4 elsewhere in the *Ghazanid Chronicle*. In introducing the ancestors of Chinggis Khan, he writes:

> Because the rulers of Cathay were constantly vexed by Mongol nomads, they took every precaution against them, like constructing a wall like Alexander's Dam between Cathay and the tribes. In Mongolian that wall is called *öngü*, and in Turkish it is called *yoqurqa*. One end of it is at the Qara Müren [Yellow River], an extremely large river impossible to cross, and the other end is at a river on the frontier of the territory of the Jurchids. The rulers of Cathay recognized the Öng'üt tribe as devoted military servants and turned the Öngü wall over to them, and they have constantly guarded it. In Chinggiz Khan's time, their leader, Ala-Qush Tegin by name, joined Chinggiz Khan, and turned over to him the wall, a bit of which has already been stated in the section on the Öng'üt.[95]

Comparison of this passage with the parallel passage in the Öng'üt biography[96] shows the kind of close, but not verbatim, citation common when Rashīd al-Dīn is returning to a commonly used Mongolian text. Moreover in this passage, he refers to Ala-Qush's title as Tegin. In the "History of Chinggiz Khan," however, the title is given as Tigin-Quri, much closer to the form of Digit-Quri in which his title is given in the *ACCK* and in the *SHM*. This confirms that a separate source, in which the title was written as Ala-Qush Tigin, was used in the composition of the Öng'üt biography. One may say that Tigin is his default form, while Tigin-Quri is used only where he is citing the *ACCK*.[97]

95 RD/Thackston, p. 113; cf. RD/Smirnova, p. 8; RD/RM, pp. 215–16.

96 RD/Khetagurov, p. 140; RD/Thackston, pp. 70–71; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 307–08; RD/RM, p. 131.

97 The form Ala-Qush Tigin is also found elsewhere in the "Tribal Section" and in the allied "Register of Chiliarchies" (see RD/Khetagurov, p. 137; RD/Smirnova, pp. 252, 270; RD/Thackston, pp. 68, 288, 275; RD/RM, pp. 127, 570, 598). In the biography of the Öng'üt, since

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Thus, every single item in the Biography of the Öng'üt can be assigned to a specific source. The core was the c. 1252 biography of the Öng'üt Negüdei and his ancestors, to which Rashīd al-Dīn added material on later Öng'üt officials taken from Juwaynī, and a misunderstood note from the *ACCK*. To these he added certain additional information from the understandings of who was Öng'üt and who was not current at the Ilkhan court.

A similar analysis can be made of Rashīd al-Dīn's biography of the Uyghurs, whose sources can also all be identified. For this people, Rashīd al-Dīn had two different types of sources, Turkic ones associated with the Oghuz tradition, and ones associated with the Mongol empire. The first he placed within Part I of the "Tribal Section," devoted to the descendants of the Oghuz.[98] The second was placed among the accounts of monarchies which had been assimilated into the Mongols, following the Öng'üts and Tanguts.[99] Within this later section, he began first with a repetition of the Oghuz material. He then followed this with a selection which I have shown elsewhere to be drawn from the post-1252 "service biography" of the Uyghur rulers, the so-called *ïduquts*, who like the Öng'üt rulers received imperial princesses.[100] In this case, unlike that of Buide/Chaghān of the Tangut (see below), Rashīd al-Dīn seems to have had access to the whole text and explicitly refers to only summarizing the information he had available: "Since unusual events that are related and some of the beliefs they hold, as told by them, have been relegated to a separate history of the Uyghurs and appended to this blessed history, only a summary account will be given."[101] Rashīd al-Dīn then followed this with an account of the Uyghur surrender to Chinggis Khan, drawn from Juwaynī who in turn drew his material from an older, pre-1252, version of the service biography of the *ïduquts*.

A final example documenting the use of identifiable Mongolian and Persian sources to make a complete account is the Tangut biography. For reasons that

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he drew on both the Mongolian Biography of the Öng'üt (which used Tegin) and the *ACCK* (which used Tegin-Quri), both terms appear side by side (see RD/Khetagurov, pp. 140–41; RD/Thackston, p. 71; RD/RM, p. 131).

98 RD/Khetagurov, pp. 83–84; RD/Thackston, p. 30; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 103–04; RD/RM, p. 52.

99 RD/Khetagurov, pp. 146–49; RD/Thackston, pp. 74–76; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 331–42; RD/RM, pp. 138–41.

100 See Christopher P. Atwood, "The Uyghur Stone: Archaeological Revelations in the Mongol Empire," in *The Steppe Lands and the World beyond Them: Studies in Honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th birthday*, ed. Florin Curta and Bogdan-Petru Maleon (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 2013), pp. 315–343.

101 RD/Khetagurov, p. 147; RD/Thackston, p. 75; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 337; RD/RM, p. 140. However, this history appears to have never been written; see Jahn, "Zu Rašīd al-Dīn's Geschichte der Oġuzen und Türken," p. 45.

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are unclear, Rashīd al-Dīn preferred to place much of the narrative of the Mongolian *ACCK* in this biography rather than in the "History of Chinggiz Khan." After beginning with geographic information that probably derived from messengers and other oral informants, he recounts the various campaigns against the Tanguts according to the *ACCK*, from the Year of the Cow (AH 601; AD 1205) to the Year of the Horse (1210). For the final conquest of the Tanguts, however, the *ACCK* was virtually useless. Instead here and in the "History of Chinggiz Khan" and the "Year-by-Year Chronicle" he made use of a separate narrative. As I hope to demonstrate in a study of Rashīd al-Dīn's sources on the death of Chinggis Khan, this narrative source focused on how Chinggis concealed his death and ordered the Tanguts to be massacred when they surrendered. Unfortunately it does not have any East Asian parallel.

However, the final portion of Rashīd al-Dīn's history of the Tanguts does have a clear parallel in both Chinese and in Mongolian sources. In his description of the Tangut kingdom, the Xia dynasty in Northwest China, Rashīd al-Dīn includes a biography of two Tangut expatriates, Büde[102] and Chaghān who served as Chinggis Khan's commander of a hundred and commander of a thousand respectively. Strangely enough, both of them were eventually made the supreme commander of the troops in North China under Ögödei Qa'an. The puzzle of why two such Tangut expatriates served in virtually the same capacity is never addressed.

The solution of this mystery is provided by the *Yuan shi* biography of Chaghān Noyan, a Tangut expatriate in the service of the Chinggis Khan. Within this biography is an anecdote which appears to be translated from the same source that supplied the Mongolian original for an anecdote told about "Büde Noyan" in the *Ghazanid Chronicle*. I have set the two accounts side by side:[103]

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102 As usual in Rashīd al-Dīn there is significant textual variation in the names. In the Tangut biography, the readings for Chagha'an are *ḥǧān* (B), *aūǰ(a)ǧān* (A), *aūǰǧāy* (I), and *čǧān* (Berezin); translators have transcribed the name variously as Chagan (Berezin), Uchagan-Noyon (Khetagurov), and Chaghan Noyan (Thackston). However, in the "Register of Chiliarchies," A also seems to have *ǰǧān* and Smirnova (p. 266) transcribes as Chaghan Noyon. For Büde, *būreh* is the only reading mentioned in Khetagurov, who transcribes the name Bure Noyon, but this seems to be a mistake of their reading. Examining scans of the Tashkent, Istanbul, Tehran, and London MSS, the letter seems better readable as *būdeh*, justifying Berezin and Thackston's transcriptions of the name as Buda Noyan, both in the Tangut Biography and in the "Register of Chiliarchies."

103 In order to remove superficial dissimilarities, I have replaced the taboo names of *Taizu* "Great Founder" for Chinggis Khan and *Guangxian Huanghou* "Empress of Bright

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Yuan shi

As a child herding sheep in the fields, he planted a staff in the ground, and taking off his hat and placing it on the top of the staff, he knelt down and worshipped it with song and dance. Chinggis Khan went out hunting and observing this asked him about it.

Chaghān replied, "When a man goes alone, then his hat is on top in the place of honor, and when two men go together, then the elder is honored. Now I am going alone, so therefore I do homage to my hat. Moreover, I have heard that there is a man in high office arriving and I am practicing courtesy and rituals beforehand." The emperor thought this a marvel, and so led him back to his home and spoke to Börte Üjin, saying "Today while going out hunting, I found a handsome boy; it might be good for you to look after him." He ordered him given into the service of the inner court.

YS 120.2955

Ghazanid Chronicle

When he was thirteen years old he was taken captive from Tangqut, and then he herded cows in the *ordu*. One day while hawking Chinggiz Khan saw him put his hat on the end of a stick, stand before it, and offer it a cup. Chinggiz Khan said to him, "What are you doing and what is this?"

"I am a boy who was taken captive from the Tangqut," he replied. "I get bored from being alone, so I put my hat on the end of a stick and say, 'Of us two one is bigger and it is better for me to serve the hat [which is a sign] of greatness.'"

Chinggiz Khan liked this reply, and since he saw in him signs of competence and maturity, he took to his great *ordu* and to Börte Üjin, where he was given work preparing food in the kitchen.

RD/Thackston I, p. 74; cf. RD/Khetagurov, p. 145; RD/Romaskevich, pp. 329–31; RD/RM, p. 137

The impression of close similarity is enhanced by the fact that both the Chinese and the Persian seem to be reflecting some underlying Mongolian text. For example the Chinese says Chaghān worshipped his hat "with song and dance" while Rashīd al-Dīn writes that he offered it a cup. The link between the two ideas of "song and dance" and offering a cup is that the Mongols presented the cup to others at great entertainments with singing and dancing.[104] Similarly

Offering" for Börte Hüjin in the *Yuan shi* account, and changed "Genghis Khan" to the more correct Persian of "Chinggiz Khan" in Thackston's translation of Rashīd al-Dīn.

104 This practice is described by William of Rubruck (II.10); see Jackson and Morgan, *Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 77–76.

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the *Yuan shi*'s "service of the inner court (*nei ting*)" sounds like an East Asian translation of the idea of a kitchen in the great *ordo* (palace tent). The accounts thus give the strong impression of being two free translations from a single Mongolian original.

The *Yuan shi* also explains how the anecdote came to be told about two different persons in Rashīd al-Dīn. In the *Yuan shi* biography it states that Chaghān's original Tangut name was "Beide," which corresponds to Rashīd al-Dīn's Büde (in Middle Mandarin *Beide* was pronounced *Buide*).[105] As an adult Buide, was adopted into the Mongolian lineage and presumably at that time given the Mongolian name Chaghān, "white." The biography also includes, among a number of other anecdotes, Chaghān/Buide's command of the armies in North China. Evidently in the incorporation of this biography to Rashīd al-Dīn's history, a misunderstanding had occurred and the young Buide commanding a hundred men and the older Chaghān commanding a thousand were somehow turned into two separate people.

The hypothesis that the two biographies of Chaghān/Buide are both derived from a Mongolian original is confirmed by the existence of a Mongolian version of the same saying about the hat. This occurs, however, not as statement by Chaghān, but as a statement by Chinggis Khan himself in the seventeenth century *Altan tobchi*:

> The Holy Chinggis Qa'an spoke in reverence to Heaven above, "By your own authority, you have not made anyone on Mother Earth higher or more powerful than me; indeed, only my hat is above me." He took off his hat, hung it at the rear of his yurt (*qoyimar*) and having bowed down to it on that day he feasted on grape wine until he felt hot and flushed.[106]

105 The *Yuan shi* text has Yide 益德. The character *yì* 益 "to increase," however, must be a textual corruption for *bēi* 盃 "cup," which is often used in transcription of names such as Buyiruq (*Beilu* 盃). From the *Yuan shi* parallel, it is clearly that Chaghān (more properly Chagha'an in Mongolian) and Büde (or more correctly Buide) should be the correct readings. The Uyghur-Mongolian original of Büde~Buide was probably BOIDA, in which OI can be read as a Mongolian feminine vowel *ü*, or else as a foreign diphthong *-ui-*. The Chinese transcription, based on a living tradition took the latter option, while the Ilkhanid transcribers, not unreasonably, took the former.

106 Page 93v of Lubsang-Danzin's *Altan tobchi*. See *Ertnii khaadyn ündeslesen tör yosny zokhiolyg towchlon khuraasan Altan towch khuraakh khemeekh orshwoi* (Ulaanbaatar: State Publishing House, 1990), p. 93b; Hans Peter Vietze and Gendeng Lubsang, eds., *Altan tobči: Eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzań bstan 'jin. Text und Index* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1992), 66–67; Sharawyn Choimaa, ed., *Ertnii khaadyn ündeslesen tör yosny zokhiolyg towchlon*

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The *qoyimar* or rear of the yurt is the position of honor. If "pole" be substituted for *qoyimar*, the final sentence is close or identical to the Mongolian original for versions in the *Yuan shi* and Rashīd al-Dīn.

Thus at least one biography found in the "Tribal Section" of the *Ghazanid Chronicle* derives from a "service record," or official biography, originally written in Mongolian. This biography must have been among the written materials exported from the Yuan to the Middle East, for reasons that are now obscure. Yet the *Yuan shi* biography continues at considerable length about Chaghān's activities in the conquest of the Tanguts and the last remnants of the Jin dynasty, as well as his son Muqali 木花里 (not to be confused with the famous Muqali of the Jalayir) and his great-grandsons *Irisaġa 亦力撒合 (d. 1295) and *Lijili'ui 立智里威, all of which are left unmentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn. While the biography of *Lijili'ui (died Zhida 至大 3 or 1310) certainly could not have been included in material used by Rashīd al-Dīn, it is surprising that the later biographical material on Chaghān in the conquest of the Tangut kingdom and North China was not included, since it would have been of interest. This fact, along with the confusion over the two names of Buide and Chaghān suggests that Rashīd al-Dīn's version was not complete, and perhaps only a fragmentary copy of the longer original biography. Another possibility is that while Rashīd al-Dīn was comprehensive in citing his major sources, in biographical sources, he felt freer to cite selectively.

Such selective use of material may be fairly common. In comparing the other biographies with Chinese and Mongolian material, there are unfortunately few points of contact so direct as in the biography of Buide/Chaghān. But where there are points of contact, they also indicate that Rashīd al-Dīn's version probably did not cite the whole biography. One example is found in the biography of Quyildar. For this personage, Rashīd al-Dīn's biography may be compared with a version preserved in Chinese. This biography is unfortunately not the Mongolian original, nor even a simple translation of that original, but one reworked by the noted literatus Yao Sui 姚燧. Yet at certain points, Yao Sui's biography and that of Rashīd al-Dīn's show distinct contact, particularly in the most dramatic section where Quyildar volunteers to lead a desperate charge:

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khuraasan Altan towch khuraakh khemeekh orshwoi (Ulaanbaatar, 2011), pp. 209, 676. This passage is found as one of Chinggis Khan's instructions (*soyol*) to his kin, on which genre see, Hidehiro Okada, "Chinggis Khan's Instructions to His Kin in Blo-bzang-bstan-'dzin's *Altan Tobči*," *Menggu wenhua guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji*, ed. Chün-i Chang (Taipei: Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Committee, 1993), 231.

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Ghazanid Chronicle "Biography of the Uru'ut"

When Chinggiz Khan was fighting Ong Khan in Qala'ajin Elet, his followers were few, while Ong Khan's were many. Chinggiz Khan asked his commanders, "What shall we do?" Ke'etei Noyan, the leader of the Uru'ut clan, hesitated, rubbing his whip over his horse's mane and saying nothing. Quyildar Sechen said, "Let my brother the ruler look at that hill behind the enemy. Its name is *Kūyīdān. I'll gallop there. If God gives me a way to pass through the enemy, I'll plant my standard on that hill. When the soldiers see it, let them come in that direction, and we will smite the enemy. If God does not grant me passage and I die, let Chinggiz Khan take charge of protecting my children." So saying, he galloped off, found a way, and smote the Kereyit army.

RD/Khetagurov, pp. 185–86; RD/Thackston, pp. 103–04; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 512–13; RD/RM, pp. 195–96.

Ghazanid Chronicle "History of Chinggiz Khan"

Since Chinggiz Khan's forces were few, while Ong Khan's were numerous, he took counsel with his commanders. 'What are we to do?' he asked. One of the commanders who was there was Ke'etei Noyan of the Uru'ut, and another was Quyildar Sechen of the Mangqut, and these tribes are related to each other.... When Chinggiz Khan took counsel, Ke'etei Noyan stroked his horse's mane with his whip and sat pensive and hesitant, not giving a ready answer. Quyildar Sechen was Chinggiz Khan's *anda*, and he said, "Khan *anda* of mine, let me go and plant my standard behind the enemy on the hill called *Qūytān and thus show my valor. If I die, I have two or three sons. Chinggiz Khan will take charge of caring for them and bringing them up."... In short, Quyildar galloped as he had said, and God helped him and made a way for him to pass through the foe and plant his standard on *Qūytān Hill.

RD/Smirnova, p. 125; RD/Thackston, pp. 185–86; RD/RM, pp. 384–85.

Yao Sui family biography

Later, the emperor faced Ong Khan in battle at Qala'ajin 曷剌真. They were many, while we were few. The Uru'ut 兀魯 army was ordered to go out first, but their general Jürchedei 术徹帶 fidgeted with his whip along his horse's mane and did not respond. Sechen 屑廑 [one of Quyildar's titles] asked leave, saying, "Battle is like a chisel; but without a sledgehammer it will not go in. I will go first like a chisel; let the other armies follow up like a sledgehammer." Looking at the emperor, he bid farewell, saying "If by chance I should not return, I sorrowfully commend to Your Majesty's care my three yellow-haired boys!" After sunrise he went swiftly into battle and thoroughly defeated their armies. By late afternoon, he was still putting them to flight, but the emperor ordered his advanced halted.

"Pingzhang zhengshi Mangwu gong shendao bei," 59.11v

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The two Persian citations bear the tell-tale signs of being independently translated from Mongolian. Thus in the "Annals and Episodes" the Mongolian terms are simply transcribed, thus "Khan *anda* of mine," while in the Biography of the Uru'ut, "khan" is translated as ruler and *anda* as brother: "my brother the ruler." Similarly the hill to which Quyildar point is transcribed in one citation as *Qūytān[107] and in the other as *Kūyīdān[108] – although the alternation of q~k is surprising, the two can be seen as different transcriptions of Mongolian *Köiten* "cold." Equally notable is that Quyildar's less than stellar rival is named Ke'etei. This appears to be a rather bad mistake, with Ke'etei actually being the son of Jürchedei[109] who according to every other source was the other commander in this story. Such a common deviation from the usual tradition implies misplaced reliance on a single written source.

By comparison the Yao Sui biography corrects that error, and instead of the Köiten hill pericope, has a Mongolian battle metaphor of a chisel and a sledgehammer.[110] But a common origin of this biography with that of Rashīd al-Dīn is seen in the vivid image of Jürchedei/Ke'etei stroking his horse's mane with his whip, in the virtually verbatim statement that Ong Khan's men were many and those of Chinggis Khan were few, and in the spelling of the battle site as Qala'ajin, rather than Qala'aljin; the latter is the term found in the *ACCK* and the *SHM*, and is used by Rashīd al-Dīn in his "Annals and Episodes," while the former is found in Chinese versions of the biographies of Quyildar and Jürchedei, and is what the "Tribal Section" compilers used in their text.[111]

But comparison with Yao Sui's text shows that Rashīd al-Dīn has omitted many important episodes which were almost certainly in the Mongolian Quyildar biography. For example, every time he introduces Quyildar, Rashīd al-Dīn notes that he "was called *anda*" by Chinggis Khan.[112] Yet his only explanation is quite vague: "He was usually allied with Genghis Khan, performed

107 Qūtīān in A, Qūtbān in B; I follow Smirnova and Pankratova in seeing these as corruptions of *Qūytān.

108 Kūyndān in A, and Kūʌndān in most other MSS; I reconstruct the original as *Kūyīdān.

109 See *YS* 120.2962.

110 The metaphor of "chisel" for a vanguard attack is Mongolian and is attested in the *SHM* §195.

111 #lāḥʌn (S, L) ~qlājīn (B) ~#lāḥīn (P) < *qalājīn (RD/Khetagurov, p. 185; RD/Thackston, p. 103; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 512). In this passage, only A reads *qalāljīn*, as in the parallel to the *AC*, but this is a harmonized reading. Consistent with A's practice elsewhere, the A copyist here harmonized the reading with that found elsewhere in the *Ghazanid Chronicle*.

112 RD/Khetagurov, pp. 184, 185; RD/Smirnova, pp. 125, 272; RD/Thackston, pp. 102, 103, 185, 277; RD/RM, pp. 193, 195, 385, 601.

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valiant service, and was called *anda*."[113] It is as if Rashīd al-Dīn has some sense that there was a particular story behind Quyildar's being called *anda*, but that in the process of preparing his source material he had prematurely deleted that section and so was not able to give the specific story. But the biography of Quyildar by Yao Sui offers a much more specific explanation. In it, Quyildar and his elder brother Quyi 畏翼[114] both adhere to the orphaned Chinggis Khan, but Quyi later leads their people to ally with the Tayichi'ut (q.v.).[115] Quyildar tried to stop him leaving, but failed and was left alone in the camp of Chinggis Khan. Chinggis asked him "Your elder brother has already gone off with all the rest of the men; why have you alone remained here?" Quyildar took an arrow, broke it and swore, "If I do not serve my lord to the end, may I be like this arrow." Chinggis renamed him Sechen "wise" and became his *anda*.[116]

7 Biliks

Another category of Mongolian source used by Rashīd al-Dīn consisted of *bilik*s or gnomic sayings, expressed in Mongolian alliterative verse. Such materials were widespread in Middle Mongolian and much of it was preserved in the later Mongolian tradition; indeed one may say that it is this tradition which shows the clearest continuity between Empire-era and post-imperial Mongolian literature.[117] Rashīd al-Dīn's research assistants had difficulty translating this material and he refers to them as "cryptic and enigmatic rhyming words" or "rhetorically ornate rhyming words and cryptic expressions."[118]

113 RD/Khetagurov, p. 185; RD/Thackston, p. 103; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 510–11; RD/RM, p. 195.

114 This transcription may appear irregular, but it one of a number of examples where initial *q-* or *k-* is not reflected in the pronunciation of one or more dialects. See Paul Pelliot, "Les forms avec et sans q- (k-) initial en Turk et en Mongol," *T'oung Pao* 37, no. 3/4 (1944): pp. 73–101.

115 Chinese *Dachou* 大疇. This could also be just as easily, if not more easily, be read as Taichu. However, since there is no record of the followers of Chinggis abandoning him for Taichu and his Yörkin en masse, I have followed Pelliot in reading it as Tayichi'ut.

116 Yao Sui, "Pingzhang zhengshi Mangwu gong shendao bei," pp. 59.11r–v; cf. *YS* 121.2987–2988.

117 See the example of a recently recovered text giving a conversation between Bo'orchu, Quyildar, and Chinggis Khan in Kara, "Mediaeval Mongol Documents from Khara Khoto and Eastern Turkestan," pp. 5–7 and fig. 3.

118 1) RD/Khetagurov, p. 179; RD/Thackston, p. 99; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 477; RD/RM, p. 185; 2) RD/Smirnova, p. 117; RD/Thackston, p. 180; RD/RM, p. 372.

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Those *bilik*s which could be attributed to Chinggis Khan were collected at the end of the "History of Chinggiz Khan." Several of them are cast in form of a dialogue between Chinggis Khan and his commanders which, as a surviving fragment found at Kharkhot, shows was a common format for expressing such statements.

Precisely because such *bilik*s were not easy to understand, they were not necessarily very fruitful material for historical compilers. Within the body of his narrative, Rashīd al-Dīn cites three such gnomic texts to embroider his history. Two of them which he explicitly designates as cryptic and rhymed are cited twice each, one in the "Tribal Section," the other in the "History of Chinggiz Khan." In both cases, the translations are sufficiently different to demonstrate that they were independently translated from Mongolian into Persian, rather than being two copies of a single Persian translation. The first is anonymous, but was spoken to the Qatagin and Salji'ut houses when they were in opposition to Chinggis Khan.[119] The second is attributed to an *ügechi* "speaker"[120] named Sorghan of the Jedei Baya'ut.[121]

The genre constraints of such Chinese historical compilations as the "Authentic Chronicles" and "Basic Annals" placed a premium on citing existing words, wherever possible. Thus such gnomic statements could be useful to supply authoritative evaluative statements attributable not to the historian, but to the people of the time. At the same time, however, the genre constraints of "Authentic Chronicles" would demand a simple, concise, and prose phrasing that would almost completely eliminate what was distinctive about such *bilik*s. Thus while such *bilik*s probably were used by Chinese, as well as Persian, historians, it is harder to identify them.

Thus somewhat tentatively, I hypothesize that two such summative passages from the *ACCK* may derive from *bilik*s which Rashīd al-Dīn also cited directly. First let us take the word attributed to Sorghan *Ügechi*, cited twice by Rashīd al-Dīn as follows:

119 RD/Khetagurov, p. 179; RD/Smirnova, p. 117; RD/Thackston, pp. 99, 180; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 476–78; RD/RM, pp. 185, 372–73.

120 On this term, see above.

121 RD/Khetagurov, p. 177; RD/Smirnova, p. 119; RD/Thackston, pp. 97, 181; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 464–65; RD/RM, pp. 180–81, 376.

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Biography of the Baya'ut
In Chinggiz Khan's time Sorqan [of the Jädäi Baya'ut] was Chinggiz Khan's **ügechi*. Since he was an intelligent and judicious man and often had good and instructive things to say, [Chinggiz Khan] promoted him to a position of prominence, and he became an *ötäkü boghol* [Mongolian "old slave"]. Before Chinggiz Khan had become ruler, when every bravado from every tribe coveted being a leader and ruler, Sorqan said, 'One of those who covet the rule is Alaq-Udur of the Tatar people (*qawm*).

'Another is Seche Beki of the Qiyat Yörkin people (*qawm*). 'Another is Jamuqa̱ Sächän of the Jajirat people (*qawm*).

'These lay claim to greatness and wish to be king,

but in the end Temüjin will come out on top and be proclaimed ruler by acclamation of the tribes, for he has the talent and ability to discharge the job. Heavenly assistance and regal splendor shine patently on his forehead.'

Annals and Episodes of Chinggiz Khan
An intelligent and wise old man of the Baya'ut tribe who was around then said,

'Seche Beki of the Yörkin Qiyat desires to rule, but he is not up to it. 'It will likewise not be possible for Jamuqa̱ Sächän, who constantly causes confusion among the people and engages in trickery and disloyalty to further his aims.

'Jochi *Burah (meaning Jochi Qasar, Chinggiz Khan's brother) also has this desire, and he is renowned for his strength, skill, and archery, but he will not attain rule either.

'Alaq-Udur of the Märkit people, who is also obsessed with ruling and has shown great power and magnificence, will not attain the rule either. 'This Temüjin (meaning Chinggiz Khan) possesses the form, manner, and talent to be leader and monarch. He will attain the rule.'

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In the end it turned out exactly as he had said.

RD/Khetagurov, p. 177; RD/Thackston, p. 97; RD/Romaskevich, pp. 464–65.

He spoke these words in a Mongolian *ayalghu* [song] with rhymes and rhetorical artifice. In the end it turned out exactly as he said: Chinggiz Khan became monarch and killed all the others, aside from his brother, as will be explained in the proper place for each one. This digression has been introduced here only because Alaq-Udur was mentioned. Let us return to the narrative.

RD/Smirnova, p. 119; RD/Thackston, p. 181; RD/RM, p. 376.

Given Rashīd al-Dīn's comment on the difficulty in understanding the passage, it is likely that the brief descriptions of each contender were originally longer and more complex – one team abbreviated them, while another team eliminated them entirely, retaining only their names (and omitting Jochi *Burah at that). Taking into account the even more extreme demands for concision made by the Chinese historiographical tradition, one may see a possible reflection of the final praise of Temüjin in the follow passage of the Chinese *ACCK* §4.3:

> "The prince[122] (Note: This means the Great Founder)[123] clothes men in his own clothes and mounts men on his own horse; the one to give the people peace and the realm[124] order is certainly this man." Therefore they all came to submit.

It is noteworthy that in his parallel of this passage as given in the *ACCK*, Rashīd al-Dīn has the name Temüjin which he uses very rarely, as a rule only when it is found in his sources. It is likely that the Mongolian of the *ACCK* thus had not just "the prince" (with an explanation following in a note), but rather, "the prince Temüjin." The Chinese version of the *ACCK*, for which the taboo on the ruler's personal name was virtually absolute, then replaced this with his posthumous temple name.

122 "The prince": *taizi* 太子. Cf. Rashīd al-Dīn: "this prince (*pādishāh-zādeh*), Temüjin." As elsewhere in the *SHM*, it is likely that the term here for prince is *kö'ün* "son, boy," but with, as in Rashīd al-Dīn, the name of Temüjin added.

123 "Great Founder" (*taizu* 太祖) is the Chinese temple name of Chinggis Khan granted by Qubilai Sechen Qa'an.

124 "realm": *guo* 國. Cf. Rashīd al-Dīn: *ulus* (Smirnova, p. 90).

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Similarly, there is another such summative passage in *ACCK* §3.5: "At this time, the Tayichi'ut had broad lands and numerous peoples, yet internally had no regulations to unify them." This might possibly be related to a *bilik*-like passage given in the *Ghazanid Chronicle*:

> At that time, when Chinggiz Khan was struggling and doing battle with [the Tayichi'ut], there was constant disputes among them. For this reason he was able to overcome them: that the cousins refused to obey each other and due to these quarrels no one was elected as ruler.... Harilun, gave [the Tayichi'ut] much good advice, saying, "Hambaqay Qa'an had ten sons, and all their friends rejoiced over their birth, and said 'Royal power will remain in the hands of their clan.' But now because the disputes and disagreements do not cease, royal power will slip from your hands."[125]

The speech attributed to Harilun appears to be the colorful original of that *ACCK* passage contrasting the power and numerous peoples of the Tayichi'ut with their inability to agree with each other. This was summarized by Rashīd al-Dīn at the beginning of the passage and may have been summarized independently in the cited passage from the Sino-Mongolian *ACCK* §3.5.

A final, if somewhat untypical, example of such a gnomic literature comes in the form of a rather choppy set of sayings and narratives focused on Sariq Khan, a kind of pre-Chinggisid Kereyit Solomon, with which Rashīd al-Dīn concludes his account of the Alchi Tatars.[126] The very choppiness and significant misunderstanding which Rashīd al-Dīn committed in citing this source[127] marks it as likely being a written source derived mostly from such obscurely phrased but memorable sayings, but here mixed with a significant narrative component. Probably because Rashīd al-Dīn felt that the translation he was presenting was obviously somewhat problematic, he explicitly noted that he derived it from written sources (*az har kītāb* "from every book"). The implication would be that the unclarity of his summary was not his fault, but that of his sources.

125 RD/Khetagurov, p. 182; RD/Thackston, p. 101; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 491–92; RD/RM, p. 189.

126 See RD/Khetagurov, pp. 111–14; RD/Thackston, pp. 50–52; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 194–204; RD/RM, pp. 89–93.

127 On these misunderstandings, see the comments of Pelliot in *HCGK*, pp. 240–47 and Chen Dezhi 2012, pp. 445–48.

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8 Orally Transmitted Material from Written Sources

Given that Rashīd al-Dīn used so many Mongolian sources, the question naturally arises as to whether he had full access to the entire body of Mongolian materials available in the Ilkhanate. This question is all the more important because of the large number of stories found in the *Secret History of the Mongols* which are not found anywhere in the *Ghazanid Chronicle*. These include Yisükei's kidnapping of Mother Ö'elün, the murder of Bekter, the rape and rescue of Lady Börte, and the succession debate on eve of the Western Expedition. Why were these stories not included? Three broad types of answers are possible: 1) These stories were not widespread, perhaps even unique to the *SHM*, and no manuscript recounting them reached the Ilkhanate, so there was no way he could have known them; 2) the stories, and perhaps even the *SHM* itself, were known among the Mongols and existed in written form in manuscripts in the Ilkhanate, but they were considered unreliable by the main authorities on Mongol history, so Rashīd al-Dīn ignored them; 3) manuscript version of the stories were well-known and accepted as reliable among the Mongols, but Rashīd al-Dīn was not allowed to see or know about them, since they were considered shameful, or at least, inappropriate for non-Mongols to know.

A definitive solution to this puzzle may not be obtainable, and indeed may differ from story to story (some of the distinctive *SHM* stories may have been simply unknown, perhaps due to defective MSS, others seen as idiosyncratic or unreliable, while others may been seen as true but shameful, and so on). But it is highly relevant to this question that there are histories and historical materials which we know were available in the Ilkhanate, but to which Rashīd al-Dīn was not given direct access. This fact is explicitly stated by Rashīd al-Dīn himself who writes of Ghazan Khan that, "There are many secrets and stories of the Mongols he knew that were not included in this story."[128] That Rashid al-Din did not have access to all the historical records available in the Ilkhanate was demonstrated in my article "Six Pre-Chinggisid Genealogies."[129] In it, I showed that Rashīd al-Dīn has a genealogy of the ancestors of Dobun Bayan, which is significantly different from that of the *SHM*, but which is identical to the genealogy found in the Tibetan *Debter marbo* (*Hulan debter*). Within that Tibetan text, this genealogy is explicitly said to have been derived from the *Yeke tobchiyan* or "Great History". Rashīd al-Dīn says he derived the genealogy of Dobun Bayan not from any written source, but from "trustworthy historians of

128 RD/Arends, p. 208; RD/Thackston, p. 667; RD/RM, p. 1338.

129 Atwood, "Six Pre-Chinggisid Genealogies," pp. 15–23.

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the Turks."[130] Moreover, there are other pericopes in the *Yeke tobchiyan*, including an otherwise unknown argument for why Tolui's son, Möngke, eventually seized the throne, which Rashīd al-Dīn evidently did not use. Given the inherent interest of such material, it would seem than that Rashīd al-Dīn did not use the *Yeke tobchiyan* itself, but instead was given an oral precis of the certain narratives, which he was allowed to use to supplement a part of his narrative.

There is another written source about which Rashīd al-Dīn knew, and which he appears to cite once, but which in general he was not given access. This was a history of the faults and benefits of Chinggis Khan's brother, Qasar. There are two passages in the *ACCK* (§§15.2–15.3 and 19) which record unique episodes concerning Chinggis Khan's brother Jochi Qasar. The passage in *ACCK* §15.2–15.3, which records how Jochi Qasar assisted his brother Chinggis Khan in attacking the Merkit and Naiman, contains a sentence about Chinggis Khan and Jochi Qasar no longer considering the Naiman as formidable, which is directly cited in *SHM* §161. The passage in §19 discusses both a campaign against the Tatars, and is then followed by a case in which Jochi Qasar wrongly alienated the Qonggirad. But Rashīd al-Dīn knew that Jochi Qasar committed a fault in the campaign against the Tatars as well:

> Chinggiz Khan turned over a thousand Tatars for Jochi Qasar to kill. To please his wife,[131] who interceded on their behalf, he killed five hundred of them and hid the other five hundred. Later, when Chinggiz Khan found out about this, he was angry with Jochi Qasar and said, "This is one of Jochi Qasar's offenses" – he had already committed several offenses, as will be told in his history.[132]

Now in fact, "several" other such offenses are nowhere mentioned in either the *ACCK* or the *Ghazanid Chronicle* – only his aggression toward the Qonggirad which was cited in his source, the *ACCK*. So why does Chinggis Khan refer to this as one of several, and why does Rashīd al-Dīn expect to be able to give a history of several of them?

To answer this question, I link this idea of a list of Qasar's faults with lists in sixteenth-century sources of the benefits which Qasar's descendants had done to Chinggis Khan. These historical sources reflect a powerful sense of conflict between Qasar and his brother Chinggis which the descendants of Jochi Qasar

130 RD/Smirnova, p. 9; RD/Thackston, p. 114; RD/RM, p. 218.

131 Her name is never given by Rashīd al-Dīn.

132 RD/Khetagurov, p. 106; RD/Thackston, p. 46; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 176–77; RD/RM, p. 83.

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saw as the result of misunderstanding, and balance out by the benefits he and his descendants had done for Chinggis Khan.[133] I propose that Rashīd al-Dīn's source for Jochi Qasar's offense in sparing the Tatars is the same as the *ACCK*'s source on his offense in attacking the Qonggirads, and that both are the same as the *ACCK* and *SHM*'s source on how he assisted Chinggis Khan in defeating the Merkit and Naiman. This source was, I posit, a list of Qasar's faults and benefits, detailing both what he had done wrong, mostly in his early life, and how he had made up for it, mostly in his later life.

I argue that Rashīd al-Dīn was aware of this source and at one point expected to be able to use it. Thus, he would know that there was a source listing the offenses of Jochi Qasar, but for the moment was unable to access it. Yet in the end, he was never given access to this source, probably because as a source documenting conflict within the imperial family, it was too sensitive.

There is one other pericope in which Rashīd al-Dīn cites material on Qasar not found in any other source. Perhaps surprisingly, this story is one in which Qasar acts well. In it, Jochi Qasar is the one who kills Teb Tenggeri of the Qongqotan, not Temüge Otchigin as in the *SHM*:

> One day he told his brother Jochi Qasar to kill him when he entered the *ordo* and started his meddling. Jochi Qasar was such a powerful warrior that he could grab a man in his two hands and break his back like a twig. In short, when Teb Tengri entered and began his meddling, [Jochi Qasar] kicked him two or three times, threw him out of the *ordo*, and killed him. His father, seated in his place, picked up his hat, not imagining that they would kill him. When he saw that he had been killed, he fell silent, remaining grave and dignified.[134]

The passage is in same ways very similar to *SHM* §245, containing the same motif of Teb Tenggeri's father, Menglig, taking up his son's hat while Teb Tenggeri wrestled with Chinggis Qa'an's brothers. It differs, however, in that in

133 The *Altan tobchi* explicitly mentions three such services: 1) that of Qachi Külüg dying to help Toghan Temür make good his flight from Daidu; 2) Üne-Bolad Ong killed Muuliqai Ong in revenge for his murdering the Chinggisid Molan Qa'an; 3) Mendü Ong avenged the murder of Taisung Qa'an. In each of these cases the event is followed by the comment: *Qasar-un üre qaġan-u üre-tür nigen tusa kürgebe gekü tere buyu* "This is why it is said, 'The seed of Qasar performed a service for the seed of the Qa'an.'" One might also add how Shüüsütei Baatur Ong defeated the Oirats, but this episode is not commented on.

134 RD/Khetagurov, pp. 167–68; RD/Thackston, p. 90; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 421–22; RD/RM, p. 167.

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the *SHM* it is Temüge Otchigin, not Jochi Qasar who killed Teb Tenggeri. But the *SHM* also involves Qasar with Teb Tenggeri but as a suspected confederate with him, not as Teb Tenggeri's enemy (*SHM* §244). Historically, it is quite plausible that Chinggis Qa'an might order Jochi Qasar to kill Teb Tenggeri as a test of his loyalty, just as he did with the disposal of Itürgen, and in placing Qasar in the center in the fight against the Naiman. In this case, as in §§15.1–2, we appear to have a record of how Qasar benefitted Chinggis Qa'an, to match the times in which he also committed faults. One may presume that this source had as its conclusion some sort of evaluation of Qasar's overall career. But such a discussion was too sensitive for non-Borjigit ears and so was not transmitted in any of our sources.

If indeed there were sources to which Rashīd al-Dīn was not given full access, then it is possible that the *SHM* might also have been kept in the Ilkhanate, but that its distinctive stories were not shown to him.

9 Sources Acquired during and after the Process of Composition

Judging from the data presented above, Rashīd al-Dīn appears to have collected and copied a great number of Mongolian sources, either in whole (the *ACCK*, the "Encomium of Tolui," genealogies, and some *bilik*s) or in part (biographies, such as those of Quyildar and Chaghān) before he began the compilation of his *Ghazanid Chronicle*. These sources were copied and assigned to multiple teams for translation, disambiguation and transcription of proper names, and initial commentary. In a few cases, the copies were imperfect and thus the work of the different teams show differences not only in the commentary and the particular transcription of ambiguous name adopted, but also occasionally in the Mongolian base text.

After the translation of the sources and the composition of the text was well advanced, Rashīd al-Dīn was still looking for new sources. These new sources sometimes altered his conception of certain issues, and so created the need for rewriting. Although one may assume he tried to make the new additions fit seamlessly into the narrative, in several cases, text following the old point of view was not fully eliminated, and hence one can detect the addition of new material.

The most surprising case of such a late addition has been documented by Kim Hodong and myself in recent articles on the "Record of Commanders" and the genealogies, respectively. Both articles have demonstrated that the *Altan debter*, which has been long taken to be something like Rashīd al-Dīn's main source, was actually only a genealogy of the generations from Dobun Bayan

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to Chinggis Khan's sons and moreover was only accessed by him fairly late in the composition process. In the genealogies, I have shown that originally, as seen in his table of contents, and in the beginning of Part I of the "History of Chinggiz Khan" he posited only eight generations between Chinggis Khan and his ancestor Bodonchar. But in the beginning of this Part I, he also mentions that "according to one report" there was an ancestor, named Buqa, in between Dutum Menen and Bodochar.[135] In his "History of Chinggiz Khan" he says this report is incorrect and rejects it, yet in his actual history of the pre-Chinggisid rulers, this Buqa is treated as an existing and correct ancestor. Analysis of the text further shows that this slightly longer genealogy was derived from the *Altan debter*. It may thus be concluded, that when Rashīd al-Dīn was planning his table of contents and writing the "History of Chinggiz Khan," he did not have access to the *Altan debter* and knew of its material only by oral report. Yet during the middle of the process of composition, he gained access to the *Altan debter*, came to consider it the more authoritative source, superior to the "Eight-Ancestor Genealogy" (see above) which he had relied on previously, and so expanded and rewrote his account to incorporate its data.[136] Kim Hodong has likewise shown how the *Altan debter*, which Rashīd al-Dīn mentions as a source for his "Record of Commanders" was also added only relatively late in the compilation of that section.

Another case where Rashīd al-Dīn added new material, but did not smooth out the text, may be found in the Biography of the Arlat house, whose founding hero was Bo'orchu. In the text as it stands today, Rashīd al-Dīn may be seen to have used two sources on Bo'orchu. In one set of Bo'orchu's material, he appears twinned with Boroghul, or indeed actually second in importance to Boroghul.[137] This appears to be the material he acquired first, since in the biography of the Arlat house it is the first material given and is directly followed by a description of Bo'orchu's descendants.

Later, however, Rashīd al-Dīn seems to have acquired a separate biography of Bo'orchu. From it he cites several statements about Bo'orchu's uniquely exalted rank, and a version of the famous story of Bo'orchu assisting Chinggis Khan to recover his stolen horses. These material are placed after the description of Bo'orchu's descendants in the Biography of the Arlat house, disrupting the normal sequence of that section in which stories of the family founder

135 RD/Smirnova, pp. 63–64; RD/Thackston, pp. 143; RD/RM, pp. 292–93.

136 See Atwood, "Six Pre-Chinggisid Genealogies," pp. 25–34.

137 See RD/Khetagurov, pp. 169–70, 171; RD/Smirnova, pp. 268; RD/Thackston, pp. 91, 93, and 273; RD/RM, pp. 169–70, 172, 595.

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are followed by information on his descendants first in Iran and then in East Asia.[138] The material is quite similar to that inserted in the "History of Chinggiz Khan," detailing Bo'orchu's contribution to the rescue of Ong Khan.[139] The focus on Chinggis Khan's horse may even link this material to a pericope about Jebe, in which Bo'orchu rides Chinggis Khan's horse which gets shot from under him.[140]

The contrast of the two sources' perspective can be seen by juxtaposing two different statements found in the same biography:

Biography of the Arlat House, original material
When [Chinggiz Khan] gave a command to all the officers, he did not give it to Boghorchi and Boroghul. They knelt and said, "How is it that you do not command us?" "Your status is too great for me to give you a specific command," he replied.
RD/THACKSTON, p. 91; cf. RD/KHETAGUROV, p. 169; RD/ROMASKEVICH et al., p. 429

Biography of the Arlat House, intrusive material
Chinggiz Khan said of Boghorchi Noyan, "His rank is lower than that of a khan and higher than that of officers and the *qarachu* [commoners]."
RD/THACKSTON, p. 92; cf. RD/KHETAGUROV, p. 170; RD/ROMASKEVICH et al., p. 432.

Both passages have Chinggis Khan defining a status in between that of vassal *noyan*s and the imperial family. But they are squarely contradictory on whether this status was delivered to both Bo'orchu and Boroghul or to Bo'orchu alone. Evidently two different sources must be posited, and that the latter source, at least, was in Mongolian is explicitly stated when Rashīd al-Dīn writes immediately following, "Boghorchi Noyan said in Mongolian, 'When the crow misspeaks, I didn't. When the bird is perplexed by a mirror, I was not and did not make a mistake. When the dust of the earth went up to the sky and came down

138 RD/Khetagurov, pp. 170–71; RD/Thackston, p. 92; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 432–35; RD/RM, pp. 170–71.

139 RD/Smirnova, p. 115; RD/Thackston, pp. 178–79; RD/RM, pp. 369–70, 370–71.

140 RD/Khetagurov, p. 194; RD/Thackston, pp. 109–10; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 552–53; RD/RM, pp. 207–208. This same story is told with Chila'un Ba'atur as the rider in RD/Khetagurov, p. 181; RD/Thackston, p. 100; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 488–89; RD/RM, p. 188.

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from the sky to the earth, I did not mistake the way. Therefore have I attained the rank that they call me Boghorchi.'"[141]

Similarly a story found in the Biography of the Arlat with Bo'orchu and Boroghul as the hero, in which Chinggis Khan is wounded, appears suspiciously similar to one in the *bilik*s of Chinggis Khan, in which Bo'orchu alone is the hero – the two appear to be alternative versions of the same story.[142] The former is derived from the twin biography of Boroghul and Bo'orchu, while the latter may be from Bo'orchu's biography.

That Rashīd al-Dīn originally had access to only the former source is confirmed by a passage in the "Record of Commanders" in which Rashīd al-Dīn actually assigns higher status to Boroghul than to Bo'orchu: "[Boroghul] was of the Hü'üshin tribe and surpassed Bo'orchi Noyan's rank, for in the right wing there was no one greater than he."[143] Such a statement would be compatible with the idea of Bo'orchu and Boroghul both being of a rank between vassal and imperial family, but is obviously incompatible with only Bo'orchu occupying that rank.

In the case of the *Altan debter* and the biographical material on Bo'orchu, the new sources were accessed at a stage before the production of the common ancestor of all extant manuscripts. In other words, all manuscripts of Rashīd al-Dīn have this intrusive new material. In other cases, however, only a few Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscripts have the new material. The addition of what we may call these plus pericopes[144] is not random, however. While some MSS have only a few of these plus pericopes, certain MSS which are clearly related on other basis also contain all of them; these form what Akasaka Tsuneaki 赤坂恒明 calls the Istanbul family and what Uno Nobuhiro 宇野伸浩 calls the A1 and A2 families, i.e. the Istanbul MS Revan 1518, the Tashkent MS No. 1620, and the London MS Or. Add 16688.[145] While the MS history of Rashīd al-Dīn is still controversial, I believe that the evidence is most consistent with this A or Istanbul family of texts being all derived from a single late recension

141 RD/Thackston, p. 92; cf. RD/Khetagurov, p. 170; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 432–33; RD/RM, p. 171.

142 Compare the story in the "Biography of the Arlat" (RD/Khetagurov, p. 169; RD/Thackston, p. 91; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 426–27; RD/RM, p. 169) with that in the wise sayings of Chinggiz Khan (RD/Smirnova, p. 265; RD/Thackston, p. 300; RD/RM, p. 590).

143 RD/Thackston, p. 273; cf. RD/Smirnova, p. 268; RD/RM, p. 505.

144 I borrow the term "plus" from Homeric criticism, where "plus verses" are referred to in order to avoid prejudging the issue of whether these verses are added or subtracted. Pericope, taken from Biblical criticism, is a term for a basic narrative unit.

145 See Akasaka Tsuneaki, *Juchiei shoseiken shi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kazama-Shobo, 2005), p. 9, and Uno Nobuhiro, "'Shūshi' dai 1 kan 'Mongoru shi' no kōtei tekisuto wo meguru shomondai," pp. 46–47.

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produced from Rashīd al-Dīn's workshop. The production of the archetype of this A or Istanbul recension was accompanied by the addition of a number of plus pericopes not found in the previous manuscripts which became the ancestors of other families. In those cases where manuscripts in other families (i.e. Akasaka's Tehran, Paris, or London families, and Uno's B-1, B-2, and B-3 families) share a few of these plus pericopes, they have derived them through hybridization with the A or Istanbul family. I will here note two examples, the second of which is particularly important.

One of the areas of research which Rashīd al-Dīn was evidently continuing actively as he finished the first version of the text was the pre-Chinggisid histories. Of all the sections in the history, it is this one which shows the greatest amount of plus pericopes. In one of these passages, at an assembly after the death of Hambaghai Qa'an, Metügün Sechen is said to have spoken in "many rhymed words, proverbs, and homilies," and the text itself shows the kind of metaphors characteristic of Mongolian *bilik* literature. Moreover, the story itself did not contain any conclusion as to what the assembly decided as to the next Tayichi'ut ruler.[146] These characteristics indicate that Rashīd al-Dīn's new material derived from a written source, of the *bilik* genre, that was more interested in the poetic phrasing, rather than the historical events, and hence left the conclusion of the story unstated.

A second set of linked plus pericopes occurs in the biographies of the Kereyit and Naiman rulers. In both, the A or Istanbul family adds a table showing the seasonal camps of the ruler and his army, and then some stories about the earlier rulers of the two kingdoms and their internecine quarrels. In introducing the stories about the Kereyit, Rashīd al-Dīn adds an explicit note about his source: "It has been found in another book in Mongolian (*kitāb-ī dīgar mughūl-ī*) that …" This makes it clear that at least one of these additional passages is based on a newly accessed Mongolian source. Within the Kereyit passage, there is also a distinctive designation of Yisükei as Qa'an, not Ba'atur. As I have argued elsewhere, this designation of Yisükei is found only in the set of narratives I have designated the "Indictment narrative complex." This complex consists of: 1) the "Indictment of Ong Khan" in which Chinggis Khan sends a long speech to Ong Qa'an detailing how Ong Qa'an betrayed him; 2) a narrative, written by a different person, but intended to give the background to make the "Indictment" comprehensible in the form of a history of the Kereyit and their conquest by Chinggis Khan; and 3) a continuation, written by another person again, but imitating no. 2, and describing the conquest of the Naiman. One of

146 RD/Smirnova, p. 45; RD/RM, pp. 267–68. Absent in RD/Thackston. The reading in RD/Smirnova as "Matukun" clearly violates vowel harmony.

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its most distinctive features is that this complex of narratives refers to Yisükei also as Qa'an, not Ba'atur.[147]

This Indictment narrative complex I originally reconstructed by comparing the *SHM* and *ACCK* – this complex was in fact the main narrative source of the *SHM*'s account of Chinggis Khan's relations with Ong Khan and the Kereyit and Naiman kingdoms. As cited by these two sources, the reconstructable portion of the first narrative begins with Ong Qa'an fleeing to take refuge with Yisükei Qa'an. And in fact, the additional material cited by Rashīd al-Dīn from "another book in Mongolian" concludes with an account of that additional material which is more detailed than the summary *SHM* and *ACCK* version of that.

Once this passage on the Kereyit's early history is understood as being derived from the Indictment narrative complex, a strong case can be made that the two tables of seasonal camps and the intrusive Naiman narrative can be assigned to the same narrative complex. The narrative itself is focused on the Kereyit and Naiman and is very careful in describing the seasonal movements of Chinggis Khan and Ong Khan. The criticism of female dominance and witchcraft is also shared in the two sources, as well as in the material taken from it in the *SHM* and the *ACCK*.

Thus, the A or Istanbul family of MSS contains a precious witness to early parts of what is the earliest known narrative history of Chinggis Khan's conquest of the Kereyit and Naiman and the unification of Mongolia. Evidently Rashīd al-Dīn acquired this manuscript and had it translated it up until the point where it began to recall material he was already aware of from the *ACCK*.

10 Conclusions

The above survey of identifiable sources and Rashīd al-Dīn's modes of composition only scratches the surface of the distinct Mongolian-origin documents

147 On this source, see Christopher P. Atwood, "The Indictment of Ong Qa'an: The Earliest Reconstructable Mongolian Source on the Rise of Chinggis Khan." *Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions*, No. 9 (2017), pp. 272–306. Elsewhere I have referred to this "Indictment of Ong Qa'an" as the "Apologia of Chinggis Khan" (Atwood, "Alexander, Ja'a Gambo and the Origin of the Jamugha Figure in the *Secret History of the Mongols*"). However, I now prefer to follow Yoshida Jun'ichi (Yosida 2005: 18ff) in referring to this source document as the "Indictment of Ong Khan." While indicting Ong Khan and defending Chinggis Khan are, of course, two sides of the same coin, comparison with similar types of documents makes it clear that the indicting of Ong Qa'an is the central concern and that the genre model is that of an indictment, not an apologia.

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that can be teased out of the *Ghazanid Chronicle*. Thus, for example, unpublished research has also indicated that Rashīd al-Dīn's narratives of Chinggis Khan's death can be disaggregated into two different sources, one focused on the Tanguts and how they were slaughtered after his death was hidden, and the other focused on the succession and how only Ögödei and Tolui heard his final wishes. Similarly, the account of Khan-Malik and how he was pushed into opposition seems to derive from a source that was also used for the *SHM* and the *ACCK*; it is centered on the Western Expedition of Sübe'etei, Jebe, and Toquchar, and includes lengthy speeches from Chinggis Khan. This source was quoted at length in all manuscripts of the *Ghazanid Chronicle*, but a plus quotation is found in the A or Istanbul family.[148]

This diversity of sources confirms that Rashīd al-Dīn's work was not exclusively shaped by any single Mongolian source, but that he was attempting to recreate an encyclopedic narrative out of a wide variety of chaotic source material. On the face of it, Rashīd al-Dīn seems extremely clear about his Mongol sources. He mentions two persons, his patron Ghazan Khan himself,[149] and the famous official Pulad Chingsang (who appears in Chinese as *Boluo* 孛羅, from Mongolian Bolad),[150] who came as an emissary from the Mongol Yuan dynasty and stayed in the Ilkhanate, as his primary oral sources.[151] In the course of his work, he also mentioned the Mongolian *Altan debter* four times by name, as an extremely valuable and secret source, to which he alone among non-Mongols was granted access. As a result, there have been a large number of confident assertions about this or that person or text being the source for all or most of Rashīd al-Dīn's specifically Mongol history.[152]

148 Shared quotation: RD/Smirnova, pp. 209; RD/Thackston, pp. 249–50; RD/RM, pp. 504–05. Additional quotation: RD/Smirnova, pp. 220–21; RD/RM, pp. 521–22; omitted in RD/Thackston. Cf. *SHM* §199 and *AC* §§51c, 51d, 52b, 53a, and 54–55c and *SHM* parallel in §257–58 (ll. 10601–10637).

149 RD/Arends, p. 208; RD/Thackston, p. 667; RD/RM, p. 1338.

150 See RD/Khetagurov, p. 67; RD/Arends, p. 208; RD/Thackston, pp. 19, 667; RD/RM, pp. 35, 1338.

151 On Bolad Chingsang, see Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 59–80.

152 The following studies express the range of opinions: 1) Rashīd al-Dīn's primary source was the information supplied to him by Ghazan Khan; see Shimo Satoko, "Ghâzân Khan and the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* – Concerning Its Relationship to the 'Mongol History' of the *Jâmiʿ al-Tawârîkh*," *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 54 (1996): 93–110; 2) Rashīd al-Dīn's primary source was a single *Altan debter*, written by Bolad Chingsang; see A. Zeki Velidi Togan, "The Composition of the History of the Mongols by Rashīd al-Dīn," *CAJ* 7 (1962): 60–72; 3) Rashīd al-Dīn's primary source was a single *Altan debter*, which was not written by Bolad Chingsang, but rather carried by him from East Asia to the Middle East; see Ishihama Juntarō, "Genchō hishi kō," *Ryūkoku shidan* 15 (1940): 1–9; 4) Rashīd al-Dīn's primary

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Our analysis leads us to believe, however, that none of the sources mentioned were *the* major source for Rashīd al-Dīn's *Ghazanid Chronicle*. Nor should Rashīd al-Dīn's statements about his sources be taken at face value. Rather an analysis of Rashīd al-Dīn's sources and the use he makes of them shows that: 1) he based his work not on a single encyclopedic source, but rather on a wide variety of Mongolian written sources. 2) The role of Bolad Chingsang and/or Ghazan Khan, if any, was probably limited to annotating and explaining enigmatic passages in written Mongolian sources; neither they, nor any other Mongolian, were declaiming long memorized oral histories for Rashīd al-Dīn or his scribes to take down. His emphasis on Ghazan Khan and Bolad Chingsang and the *Altan debter* was undoubtedly because they were high status persons and texts – to magnify them was to magnify his own role. Indeed it is striking that the one rare incident of Mongolian history which we know for certain that Bolod *Chingsang* recounted – the dancing of Qutula Qa'an at Qorqonaq Jubur[153] – was in fact *never* included in the body of the *Ghazanid Chronicle*.[154] So much for Rashīd al-Dīn's supposed reverence for every pearl that dropped from Bolad Chingsang's mouth!

Elsewhere in his preface, however, Rashīd al-Dīn refers to both unorganized texts, and to Turco-Mongolian historians – it is these references which need to be taken seriously, not the flattering hyperbole he addressed to his patrons. Referring to Mongolian texts, he wrote:

> However, from age to age, they have kept their true history in Mongolian expression and script, unorganized and disarranged, chapter by chapter, scattered in treasuries, hidden from the gaze of strangers and specialists, and no one was allowed access to learn of it.[155]

In the process of organizing this material he also utilized the expertise of historians:

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source was the *Altan debter* transmitted to him orally by Bolad Chingsang; see Boyle, *Successors of Genghis Khan*, pp. 10–11.

153 In the "History of Möngke Qa'an" see RD/Verkhovskii, p. 145; RD/Thackston, p. 413; RD/Boyle, p. 223; RD/RM, p. 849; and in the "History of Ghazan Khan," see RD/Thackston, pp. 653–54; cf. RD/Arends, pp. 192; RD/RM, p. 1308.

154 As noted above, when a reference to that particular place was incorporated into the *Compendium of Chronicles* in a plus pericope, Rashīd al-Dīn did not recognize it as being the same place as the one referred to in the passages in the histories of Möngke and Ghazan khans.

155 RD/Thackston, p. 18; cf. RD/Khetagurov, p. 67; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 64; RD/RM, p. 34.

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> I have organized and codified the contents of those disarranged leaflets that were found in the treasury. Everything I heard from wise men of state who were in attendance at court and from learned historians of every sort I adapted and verified and then included.[156]

Although he is rather slighting of the Turco-Mongolian historians he mentions, criticizing "every historian [for] having related a bit of it without knowing the truth of the situation, having taken it from the mouths of the vulgar however he pleased or felt like,"[157] in fact, he depended crucially both on the texts they wrote, as well as their expertise when they told him of stories and sources that he was not given access to. Thus for the first part of his history, at least, from the origins through the sons of Chinggis Khan, sources criticism is essential for the proper utilization and understanding of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Ghazanid Chronicle*.

As I have mentioned, the results I have obtained so far are merely scratching the surface of what one might expect to obtain from applying source criticism to the *Ghazanid Chronicle*. I would like to summarize how such results may be obtained. How can the critic tell that Rashīd al-Dīn is citing a Mongolian source, and how can the critic tell where his citation begins and ends?

The following methods are helpful:

1. the most direct is those few instances where Rashīd al-Dīn says that he is quoting from Mongolian or even more specifically from a Mongolian book. However, I do not believe that there are many more such references which I have not touched on already.
2. A second, equally irrefutable, indication is where Rashīd al-Dīn's text can be directly matched against a Chinese or Mongolian source. In some cases this match is extensive and exact, as with the parallel between the "Annals and Episodes" of Chinggis Khan (i.e. Part Two of his history) and the *ACCK*. But in other cases, such as in the "Encomium of Tolui" and the biographies of Quyildar or Chaghān, the parallels are less exact, largely because the Chinese itself is not a direct translation, but rather an adaptation, of the Mongolian. Cases of direct parallel between Mongolian originals and the Persian of the *Ghazanid Chronicle* are limited by the massive loss of Mongolian language histories, and by the fact that the main surviving history, the *SHM*, was not actually used by Rashīd al-Dīn. Probably the most fruitful avenue for exploration would be between

156 RD/Thackston, p. 19; cf. RD/Khetagurov, p. 68; RD/Romaskevich et al., pp. 69–70; RD/RM, p. 37.

157 RD/Thackston, p. 18; cf. RD/Khetagurov, p. 67; RD/Romaskevich et al., p. 65; RD/RM, p. 35.

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the *bilik*s found in Rashīd al-Dīn and the didactic literature preserved in Mongolian. There is even the possibility of further discoveries of such literature in arid areas along the Silk Road, such as Kharkhot or Xinjiang.

3. Without such direct methods, indirect methods can be used:
    a. One must pay special attention to passages that have been repeated. As I have noted, they seem to be very often passages from Mongolian-language histories. Where two or more such versions exist, one can often find evidence that the two versions were not copied from one Persian version to the other, but both were independently translated from a Mongolian version. This can be seen in the following features:
        i. different Persian transcriptions of the same Mongolian name, ones which may or may not reflect differing Mongolian originals.
        ii. Contrasts between translation of a particular Mongolian term in one version and transcription in another.
        iii. Specific features of language which are best explained by translation from a Mongolian original.
    b. Since Rashīd al-Dīn's "Tribal Section" biographies have a standard format, deviations from that format are usually significant and mark the subsequent insertion of information from a different source. The usual format is: 1) early history; 2) heroic action of the founder in Chinggiz Khan's time; 3) further anecdotes under Ögödei to Möngke; 4) descendants in the Ilkhanate; 4) descendants in the Yuan dynasty. Deviations from this, such as insertion of stories about the founder after consideration of descendants under Qubilai, mark intrusive material that was added after the original draft of the biography had been completed. This intrusive material is as a rule based on a Mongolian written document which Rashīd al-Dīn had newly accessed.
    c. Finally there are the usual marks of editing that can be used in any case of source criticism. None of these criteria are automatic or foolproof – indeed all can be also used deliberately by historians for compositional reasons. But each one can function as a warning that two sources may have been used to create the narrative line. These include:
        i. Doublets: two episodes within a single narrative which seem suspiciously similar – oftentimes they can be shown to derive from the effort to integrate two different sources' account of the same event.

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ii. The sudden appearance, without introduction, of persons who have not been mentioned before or never appear elsewhere. This can result from reliance on a text that is not completely cited, or cited out of sequence.
iii. Conversely, passages reintroducing a character or place well after that character or place was first introduced.

What is the benefit of analyzing the *Ghazanid Chronicle* through source criticism? For those of us interested in Mongolian culture and history, the reconstruction of hitherto lost Mongolian sources is more than enough justification for the endeavor. But source criticism is also essential for properly evaluating Rashīd al-Dīn's materials as history. Source criticism can disaggregate a narrative into one or more Mongolian source documents each adorned with greater or lesser amounts of expansionistic additions derived from his consultation with Turco-Mongolian historians and other learned men. Once this has been done, each source, whether narrative or oral, can be assessed separately, thus allowing the resolution of historical questions hitherto resistant to solution. Source criticism, by allowing examination of Rashīd al-Dīn's methodology, will also allow better and more penetrating exploitation of the historical materials contained in the *Ghazanid Chronicle*.

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Appendix

Table 3.1 gives the correlation of my divisions with those of the text of the "History of Chinggiz Khan" in Rashīd al-Dīn. Note, however, that only those cases where the Rashīd al-Dīn text is actually derived from that of the Authentic Chronicle of Chinggis Khan are included. Since Rashīd al-Dīn used only the *Authentic Chronicle of Chinggis Khan*, not that of Ögödei Qa'an, the latter is omitted. "Cf." indicates those passages derived from the *Authentic Chronicle* but which are not placed in proper sequence in the "History of Chinggiz Khan," but were distributed either to his biographies of the

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Turco-Mongolian kingdoms and aristocratic houses, his "Year-by-Year Chronicle," or the histories of his sons. In the case of the "Year-by-Year Chronicle," however, I give the pages only where it adds significant informant to that provided by the main text.

TABLE 3.1 Correspondence of the *swqzl* text with the text of Rashīd al-Dīn, principally, Part II of the "History of Chinggiz Khan"

My divisions	Persian text of Rawshan and Mūsawī	Russian translation (Kh = Khetagurov; Sm = Smirnova; V = Verkhovskii)	English translation of Thackston (B = Boyle, *sgk*)
§1	309–12, cf. 284, 269, 188–89	Sm: 74–76, cf. 58, 47, Kh: 181–82	152–53, cf. 139, 132, 100–01
§2	325–27	Sm: 84–85	159
§3	327–331	Sm: 85–88	159–61
§4	331–33	Sm: 88–90	161–62
§5	333–34	Sm: 90	162–63
§6	334–35	Sm: 90–91	163
§7	335–37	Sm: 91–92	163–64
§8	337–38	Sm: 92–93	164–65
§9	338–39	Sm: 93–94	165
§10	339–40	Sm: 94	165
§11	359–63	Sm: 108–11	174–76
§12	364	Sm: 111	176
§13	365–66	Sm: 112–13	176–77
§14	367–68	Sm: 113–14	177–78
§15	369–71	Sm: 114–16	178–79
§16	371–72	Sm: 116	179–80
§17	372–74	Sm: 116–17	180
§18	374–75	Sm: 118	180–81
§19	375–77	Sm: 118–19	181–82
§20	377–79	Sm: 119–21	182–83
§21	379–381	Sm: 121–22	183–84
§22	381–386	Sm: 122–26	184–86
§23	386–87	Sm: 126–27	186–87
§24	387–93	Sm: 127–31	187–90
§25	393	Sm: 131	190
§26	393–94	Sm: 131–32	190–91

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TABLE 3.1 Correspondence of the *swqzl* text with the text of Rashīd al-Dīn (*cont.*)

My divisions	Persian text of Rawshan and Mūsawī	Russian translation (Kh = Khetagurov; Sm = Smirnova; V = Verkhovskii)	English translation of Thackston (B = Boyle, *sgk*)
§27	395–98	Sm: 132–34	191–92
§28	398–399	Sm: 134–35	192–93
§29	414–15	Sm: 146	201
§30	415–18	Sm: 146–48	201–03
§31	418–19	Sm: 148–49	203
§32	420, 135, 570	Sm: 149–50, cf. Kh: 143–44, Sm: 252–53	203, cf. 73, 288–89
§33	420–21	Sm: 150–51	203–04
§34	421–22, 135, 572	Sm: 151, cf Kh: 144, Sm: 253	204, cf. 73, 289
§35	422, 143, 572	Sm: 151, cf. Kh: 150, Sm: 253	204, cf. 77, 289
§36	422–23	Sm: 151–52	204–05
§37	423–26, 135, 573	Sm: 152–54, cf. Kh: 144, Sm: 254	205–06, cf. 73, 289–90
§38	440–441	Sm: 163	213
§39	441–48, 763, 785–86	Sm: 163–70, cf. V: 94, 108	213–220; cf. 374, 384 (= B: 145–46, 164–65)
§40	449–54	Sm: 170–75	220–24
§41	454–55	Sm: 175–76	224–26
§42	455–56	Sm: 176–77	226
§43	456	Sm: 177	226
§44	456–57	Sm: 177–78	226–27
§45	458, 105, 106	Sm: 178, cf. Kh: 122, 123	227, cf. 58, 59
§46	459–60	Sm: 178–79	227–28
§47	460	Sm: 179	228
§48	cf. 143–44, 575	cf. Kh: 151, Sm: 256	cf. 77–78, 291
§49	487–88, cf. 575–576	197–98, cf. Sm: 256	241, cf. 291
§50	488–89, 496, cf. 576, 732, 763, 786	198, 203, cf. Sm: 256, cf. V: 78, 94, 109	241, 245, cf. 291, 359, 374, 385 (= B 117–18, 146, 165)

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My divisions	Persian text of Rawshan and Mūsawī	Russian translation (Kh = Khetagurov; Sm = Smirnova; V = Verkhovskii)	English translation of Thackston (B = Boyle, *SGK*)
§51	496, 519; cf. 576, 732, 763, 786	Sm: 219; cf. Sm: 256, cf. V: 78, 94–95, 109	cf. 291; cf. 359, 374, 385 (= B: 118, 146–47, 165)
§52	519–20; cf. 577, 732, 763–64, 786–787	Sm: 219; cf. Sm: 256–57, cf. V: 78, 95, 109	cf. 359, 374, 385 (= B: 118, 147, 165)
§53	cf. 577	cf. Sm: 257	cf. 291
§54	528, cf. 577	Sm: 224, cf. 257	257, cf. 291
§55	528, cf. 577	Sm: 225, cf. 257	257, cf. 291–92
§56	530–31	Sm: 226	257–58
§57	536	Sm: 230	260–61
§58	536–37	Sm: 230	261
§59			

Table 3.2 is a listing of the major MSS of Rashid al-Din's *Ghazanid Chronicle* that have been used by scholars. It is primarily based on Uno, "'Shūshi' dai 1 kan 'Mongoru shi' no kōtei tekisuto wo meguru shomondai," pp. 46–47; Akasaka, *Juchiei shoseiken shi no kenkyū*, pp. 9–10; Shimo Hirotoshi, *Mongoru teikoku shi kenkyū seihen: Chūō Yūrashia yūboku shoseiken no kokka kōzō*, pp. 32–33. The final column is a suggested universal set of sigla for the text.

TABLE 3.2 Manuscripts and their families of *Ghazanid Chronicle*

Family	Text	Blochet	Jahn	SL	Karimi	R & M	Shimo	Akasaka	Mine
A-1 or	Tashkent			A /ب		چا	TA	A	A
Istanbul	Istanbul		S	S / پ	X	ا	I	S	S
A-2	Vienna		W						W
	Ln BL 16688	La					L_1	La	La
B-1 or	Majlis 2294						T	Tm	T
Tehran	Ln IO 3524						IN	L3524	In

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TABLE 3.2 Manuscripts and their families of *Ghazanid Chronicle* (*cont.*)

Family	Text	Blochet	Jahn	SL	Karimi	R & M	Shimo	Akasaka	Mine
B-2 or	Paris 1113[a]	A	P	P / چ		چ	P	P	P
Paris	Paris 209	B						P209	Pa
	SP Д66			B / ح		ح		B	B
B-3 or	SP PNS46			C / ت		ت		C	C
London	Ln BL 7628	L	L	L / ث		ث	L_2	L	L
	Tehran KJN							I	J
	HA 282				X				H
other	SM				X				D
	Tehran Library			I / ج		ج			I
	Mashhad					و			M
	Ln BL 2927						L_3		Lb

a Some leaves of this were separated and attached to British Library MS Or. 2885 (Shimo, pp. 64–65). Karimi listed three MSS as his sources (marked with X) but did not employ a consistent set of sigla.

SL: *Sbornik letopisei* or the Soviet-era texts and translations (translations used Latin sigla, the partial texts, Persian sigla); R & M: Rawshan and Mūsawī, ed., *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*.
Shading marks those that are not actually MSS of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, but rather other chronicles which incorporate the *JT* text verbatim

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CHAPTER 4

Salghurid History in the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*: a Preliminary Exploration of Its Composition and Transmission

Stefan Kamola

On 14 April 1307, Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb (d. 1318) presented his *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* to the Mongol Ilkhan Öljeitü Sulṭān (1304–1316).[1] The first volume of the work consisted of a dynastic history of the Mongols that Rashīd al-Dīn had completed in 1304, shortly after the death of its patron, Ghazan Khan (1295–1304). This was followed by a second volume, a history of the world that he had assembled under Öljeitü's direction.[2] The April date of the work's presentation is reported by the chronicler of Öljeitü's reign, ʿAbd Allāh Qāshānī. Elsewhere, Qāshānī rails against Rashīd al-Dīn for having stolen from him the contents of and reward for the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*. Despite Qāshānī's very legitimate claim (explored below), Rashīd al-Dīn has retained credit at least for the overall compilation of the work he presented in 1307.

Within the grand sweep of Rashīd al-Dīn's world history appears a brief account of the Salghurids, a dynasty of Turkish *atābaks* who had ruled over the south of Iran from the mid-twelfth century into the 1280s. The brevity of this section of text is to be emphasized: it covers only three manuscript folios in its most famous copy, and twenty-eight pages in its modern print edition. That is just one-third the space dedicated to the next shortest sections, those on the Khwārazmshāhs and the Franks.[3] Like most of Rashīd al-Dīn's world history, the history of the Salghurids is unremarkable, being mostly distilled from the

1 Qāshānī/Hambly, 54–55.

2 For more on the commission and structure of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, see Stefan Kamola, *Making Mongol History: Rashid al-Din and the Jamiʿ al-Tawarikh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), pp. 78–95 and 183–208.

3 Istanbul TSM ms. H.1653, 339a–341b; *c.f.* folios 329b–338b (on the Khwārazmshāhs) and 411b–421b (on the Franks).

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much longer history of the Salghurids included in the history of ʿAbd Allāh Waṣṣāf (d. c. 1329).[4]

This chapter seeks to understand how the history of the Salghurids came to be included in the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* in the form that it has. This investigation is possible because of the survival of a manuscript of ʿAbd Allāh Qāshānī's own world history that has previously attracted little attention. On its face, there is no particular reason that Rashīd al-Dīn should include the history of the Salghurids, and not any of the numerous other local dynasties that the Mongols subjugated or displaced. For example, the *atābak*s of northern Iraq and the Seljuqs of Rūm were at least as prominent as the Salghurids, both within the fragmented political landscape that the Mongols entered, and in pre-Ilkhanid historical literature. In his world history, Qāshānī does include other dynasties comparable to the Salghurids, including those of Mosul and Rūm, which makes the presence of the Salghurid history make a bit more sense. Furthermore, while much of Rashīd al-Dīn's world history is a fairly straight copy from that of Qāshānī, the history of the Salghurids is not. Instead, it appears to be assembled from various sources, chief among them the history of Waṣṣāf but also including Qāshānī. In short, the history of the Salghurids as it has survived in the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* is noteworthy both for its unique contents and for Rashīd al-Dīn's decision to include it within the larger world historical collection.

Comparing the Salghurid histories of Rashīd al-Dīn and Qāshānī sheds new light on how the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* came together in its current form. Alongside other sections that have previously been studied, it exposes Qāshānī's ongoing process of modifying his history. It also suggests that Rashīd al-Dīn revised his own world history in the years after 1307. The fact that the Salghurid history appears in some manuscripts and not others raises the possibility that Rashīd al-Dīn was himself uncertain about the place that the Salghurids should hold in the new genre of Mongol world history that he was helping to create. Originally included because of the precedent set by earlier world historians, the Salghurid history was later removed, either because it was deemed unnecessary or to highlight the importance of the Mongol conquest.

To arrive at these conclusions, this chapter first reviews the general history of the Salghurid dynasty and revisits Qāshānī's claim to be the author of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*. It then examines the place of the Salghurids within the *Jāmiʿ*

4 Waṣṣāf's version of Salghurid history is found in the second book of his *Tajziyat al-amṣār wa tazjiyat al-aʿṣār*: Waṣṣāf/Bombay, 146–222; Waṣṣāf/Wentker, 5–172.

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al-Tawārīkh and within Ilkhanid historiography more broadly, before exploring the specific manuscript situation of the Salghurid history in copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's world history.

1 The Salghurids

'Salghur' as a collective identity among a section of Oghuz Turks is evident as early as the eleventh-century work of Maḥmūd Kashghārī.[5] They emerged from a line of *atābak*s appointed by Great Seljuq sultans and became independent rulers of Fārs. The first *atābak*, Faẓluya of the Shabānkāra, was appointed in 1066 by Alp Arslan (1063–1072). Neither he nor any of his six successors can be definitively connected to the Salghurid clan, but in 1148, Sunqur b. Mawdūd rebelled against the Seljuq prince over whom he had been appointed *atābak* and seized command, beginning more than a century of Salghurid rule as *de facto* independent rulers in Fārs. On Sunqur's death in 1161, rule passed to his brother Zangī, an example of lineal succession common among Inner Asian pastoral nomadic peoples. After Zangī's death in 1178, both his own son Tekele and Sunqur's son Ṭughrīl claimed the title of *atābak*, leading to several years of conflict between the two branches of the family. According to some sources, Tekele managed to defeat Ṭughrīl, while other sources claim the unrest only ended in 1202–3, when Tekele's younger brother, Saʿd b. Zangī (1198–1226), captured and executed their cousin.

After Saʿd assumed uncontested control of the dynasty, rule passed among his descendants until the death of his great-granddaughter Ābish Khatun eighty years later. The significance of the early conflict with Ṭughrīl is evident in the fact that the name Saʿd became an alternate identifier for the dynasty during this period. The main political development in the eastern Islamic world that overshadowed these decades was the rise in power of the Khwārazmshāhs, followed by the Mongol invasions of Chinggis Khan and his successors, which put an end to the Khwārazmian Empire. Like several other regional governors across Iran, Iraq, and Northern Syria, the Salghurid Atābak Abū Bakr b. Saʿd

5 Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects,* vol. 1, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 101; Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dalects*, vol. 11, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 219, 363. The most comprehensive treatment of the Salghurids is Erdoğan Merçil, *Fars Atabegleri Salgurlular* (Ankra: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1975).

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(1226–1260) recognized Mongol suzerainty, which allowed him to remain in his position in Fārs with the added title of Qutlugh Khan.[6]

The Saʿdī Salghurid family remained loyal to the Ilkhanid court until 1263, when Saljūqshāh, a grandson of Saʿd b. Zangī, rose in revolt, perhaps with the promise of support from the Mamlūks of Egypt.[7] The suppression of this revolt, and the killing of Saljūqshāh, did not mean the immediate end of the Salghurid dynasty. Instead, his four-year-old daughter Ābish was appointed as governor. She lived in Fārs for the first decade of her reign, most of it alongside her appointed husband Möngke Temür b. Hülegü, after which she spent a further decade at the Ilkhanid court while Möngke Temür governed in her place. When Möngke Temür died in 1282, Ābish returned to Fārs. However, ongoing revolts and fiscal mismanagement, and the murder of auditors sent to correct affairs, resulted in her renewed imprisonment and the effective end of the Salghurid dynasty in 1285.

During the 115 years between Sunqur b. Mawdūd's seizure of power in Fārs and the failed revolt of Saljūqshāh against the Ilkhanids, the Salghurids cultivated a celebrated court culture in Shīrāz. The most famous beneficiary of their patronage is no doubt the poet Saʿdī (ca. 1210–1291/2), who dedicated his *Būstān* and *Gulistān* to Abū Bakr b. Saʿd and Saʿd b. Abū Bakr, respectively, and who derived his pen name from the names of his patrons.

Several other significant scholars received early employment under the Salghurids before pursuing Mongol patronage. These included the physician Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1311), who travelled north to study with Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī at Marāgha, the theologian Nāṣir al-Dīn Bayḍāwī (d. 1286), who petitioned the Mongol governor Suʾunchaq for the position of chief *qāḍī* of Fārs, and the fiscal officer and court panegyrist ʿAbd Allāh Waṣṣāf. As discussed below, both Bayḍāwī and Waṣṣāf produced historical works for Mongol patrons. This allowed them to include their early Salghurid patrons within a nascent genre of historiography primarily aimed at integrating the new Mongol rulers into extant intellectual frameworks. By cultivating scholars of the caliber of Bayḍāwī and Waṣṣāf, the family of Saʿd b. Zangī helped to perpetuate its own memory. While these two scholars were perhaps the most qualified of their generation to write about the Salghurids, their works are not the most famous Ilkhanid historical productions. For that, we must look to the great *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn. As already mentioned, Rashīd al-Dīn produced a history of

6 For the subordination of the Salghurids and other dynasties to the Mongols, see Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World: from Conquest to Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 242–268, with a particular discussion of Abū Bakr at pp. 245–246.

7 Jackson, *Mongols and Islamic World*, p. 263.

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the world that includes a narrative of the Salghurid dynasty. Rashīd al-Dīn was not from southern Iran, and by the time he wrote, the dynasty of Salghurids was twenty years in the past. Their history, therefore, was not an obvious inclusion in his historical collection. Nevertheless, a brief narrative of Salghurid history is there, tucked among the accounts of other dynasties. It is to the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* that we now turn, first to understand how it came into being and then to understand the position that Salghurid history plays within it.

2 The Authorship and Contents of the Original *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*

Qāshānī's claim to be the true author of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* appears in two places in his history of Öljeitü Sulṭān.[8] Elsewhere I have described how Qāshānī applied his literary training to his accusation that Rashīd al-Dīn stole his work.[9] This accusation is rooted in a charge that Rashīd al-Dīn remained loyal to the Jewish community into which he was born. It is perhaps the *ad hominem* nature of Qāshānī's accusation that has led so many modern scholars to reject it. Edgard Blochet was the first to give it credence, in his *Introduction* to Rashīd al-Dīn's history.[10] Blochet credits Qāshānī with the authorship of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* based on his examination of a history of Iran and Islam that very closely resembles the corresponding section of Rashīd al-Dīn's world history, but which includes an introduction explaining how Qāshānī came to write it.[11]

In reviewing Blochet's *Introduction*, Vasiliy Bartol'd rejected on two grounds the idea that Qāshānī could have authored the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*: first, that the dynastic history of the work's first volume could only have been written by someone with the level of intimate access to the royal family that Rashīd al-Dīn enjoyed, and second, that the style of the dynastic history did not match that of Qāshānī's history of Öljeitü.[12] Bartol'd allows Qāshānī only a very limited role in a project conceived, directed, and assembled by Rashīd al-Dīn. This

8 Qāshānī/Hambly, pp. 54–55 and 240–241.

9 Stefan Kamola, "Rashīd al-Dīn and the making of history in Mongol Iran" (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Washington, 2013), pp. 248–252; more briefly at Stefan Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, pp. 155–157.

10 Edgard Blochet, *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din* (London: Luzac & Co., 1910), pp. 132–140.

11 This manuscript is Berlin Staatsbibliothek ms. Pertsch 368/Minutoli 23, discussed by Blochet 2010, 132–140; Kamola 2013, 245–248; Brack 2016, 322–327.

12 V. V. Bartol'd, "Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din," [review] *Mir Islama* 1.1 (1912), republished in *Sochineniya. Tom. VIII: Raboty po IstochnikoVendeniyu* (Moscow: Nauka, 1973), pp. 270–310.

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stance was adopted in later decades by others, including Il'ya Petrushevsky, who lumps Qāshānī among the contributors to and employees of Rashīd al-Dīn's grand editorial venture.[13]

The disconnect between Blochet and later scholars on the question of Qāshānī's authorship of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* is a case of historiographical apples and oranges. The first volume of the collection, containing the dynastic history of the Mongols, required intimate access to the Ilkhanid family and their inner circle of Mongol generals and advisors. As Christopher Atwood details elsewhere in this volume, it also required a dedicated workforce of translators to convert Mongolian sources into Persian. Rashīd al-Dīn was in a position to organize such a research team, while Qāshānī most likely was not. Bartol'd's critique of Blochet is based on the nature of this dynastic history. However, Blochet's decision to accept Qāshānī's claim was based on an examination of manuscripts of the two authors' world histories. Writing that portion of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* would have required not court access but familiarity with historical literature, an area where Qāshānī was, if anything, more qualified than Rashīd al-Dīn.

In recent years, a series of studies have further substantiated the general truth of Qāshānī's claim not only to have written much of the world history found in the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, but even to have coined the title for the resulting collection.[14] This has been possible because manuscripts of Qāshānī's work have come to light beyond the one fragment that Blochet assessed. In a recent article, Osamu Otsuka has listed and discussed nine known manuscripts containing portions of Qāshānī's world history.[15] Most of these are relatively short fragments. Only one manuscript, now held in the Tehran University Library,

13 Il'ya P. Petrushevsky, "Rashid-ad-dina i ego istoricheskiy trud," in Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, *Sbornik letopisey. Tom. I, kniga pervaya*, trans. L. A. Khetagurova (Moscow: Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1952), p. 26; *c.f.* David Morgan's assessment of Qāshānī and others as "research assistants": David O. Morgan, "Rašīd al-dīn and Ġazan Khan," in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, edited by Denise Aigle, (Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1997), p. 184.

14 A. H. Morton, "Qashani and Rashid al-Din on the Seljuqs of Iran," in *Living Islamic History: Studies in Honour of Professor Carole Hillenbrand*, edited by Yasir Suleiman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 166–177; Kamola, "Rashīd al-Dīn and the making of history in Mongol Iran", pp. 247–248; Jonathan Brack, "Mediating Sacred Kingship: Conversion and Sovereignty in Mongol Iran", (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan), pp. 322–327; Osamu Otsuka, "Qāshānī, the first world historian: research on his unvestigated Persian general history, *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*", *Studia Iranica* 47 (2018): 119–149; Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, pp. 95–103.

15 Otsuka, "Qāshānī, the first world historian", with the list of manuscripts at pp. 125–127.

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contains most of Qāshānī's world history.[16] It allows us to substantiate the fact that Qāshānī produced a world history with the title *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* already during the reign of Ghazan Khan. Major portions of this work subsequently found their way into Rashīd al-Dīn's collection by the same name. Furthermore, the Tehran manuscript of Qāshānī's work, when compared to those of Rashīd al-Dīn, have allowed us to reconstruct Qāshānī's ongoing efforts to update his text. Part of the goal of this chapter is to suggest that Rashīd al-Dīn also revised his world history in the years after he first presented it in 1307.

The rehabilitation of Qāshānī began with Dānishpazhūh's 1987 edition of his history of the Ismāʿīlīs, which was prepared from the main Tehran manuscript of Qāshānī's world history.[17] In his preface to the Ismāʿīlī history, Qāshānī mentions having assembled a *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* for Ghazan, to which this new section was intended as a supplement. The same Tehran manuscript had already provided the text for an edition of Qāshānī's history of the Seljuqs, but Iraj Afshar had erroneously titled that edition as the original text of Nīshāpūrī's *Saljūqnāma*. The actual *Saljūqnāma* was later meticulously reconstructed by A. H. Morton, in part by reference to the later reflections of it by Qāshānī, Rashīd al-Dīn, and others.[18] As part of his introduction to the reconstructed text, Morton details the relationship between Qāshānī and Rashīd al-Dīn's versions of the text.[19] His conclusion is that Qāshānī wrote first and provided the main source for Rashīd al-Dīn's work, but that Qāshānī himself later revised his text. The surviving texts by Qāshānī and Rashīd al-Dīn on the Seljuqs, therefore, are in fact independent revisions of Qāshānī's original.

Jonathan Brack, Osamu Otsuka, and I have each discussed this issue separately, agreeing that Qāshānī is to be credited as the original author of much of what ended up in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*. This issue is complicated by the fact that Qāshānī actually wrote two closely related historical works, the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* and the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*. It seems that Qāshānī collected a series of histories for Ghāzān and titled them the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*. During Öljeitü's reign, he then returned to the topic of pre-Islamic and caliphal history, producing a new work on these specific areas that he called the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*. The new *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* was then inserted into the *Jāmiʿ*

16 This is Tehran University Library ms. 9067.

17 Qāshānī/Dānishpazūh.

18 A. H. Morton, *The Saljūqnāma of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī: a Critical Text Making Use of the Unique Manuscript in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004).

19 Morton, *Saljūqnāma*, pp. 23–32.

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al-Tawārīkh in place of the earlier version of pre-Islamic and caliphal history.[20] The result appears in the Tehran manuscript of Qāshānī's world history: the introduction is dedicated to Öljeitü, and the opening sections are the revised *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*, but then the manuscript continues with the other sections of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* compiled under Ghāzān. Whether the updated history of the Seljuqs and the supplement on the Ismāʿīlīs were added to the new hybrid work at the same time as the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* or not, they all appear together in the surviving manuscript. In short, our single best source for Qāshānī's world history is already a hybrid, revealing several stages of an ongoing process of composition, which complicates but does not entirely obscure the nature of the work.

3 Perso-Islamic Universal Historiography

While the hybrid Tehran manuscript contains lacunae, and while some sections are out of order, the general contours of the work are evident. It opens with a history of pre-Islamic Iran, followed by the life of Muḥammad and the Rāshidun, Umayyad, and ʿAbbasid caliphates. After this point, the order of sections becomes less certain. In the surviving manuscript, we read of the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī caliphate of the Fāṭimids, as well as their Niẓārī Ismāʿīlī offshoot in Syria and Ayyūbid successors in Egypt. Then come short histories of Ghūr, North Africa, and Seljuq Rūm. These are followed by thirteen disordered folios containing the histories of the Khwārazmshāhs and the tail end of the history of the Great Seljuqs, then a further series of short histories of governors of Aleppo, Diyarbakir, Mosul, and Irbil. Then we read about the Ṭāhirids and the Sāmānids of eastern Iran, and finally the bulk of the history of the Great Seljuqs. It is at this point that Qāshānī's history of the Salghurids appears, followed by the histories of non-Islamic peoples, including the Franks, Indians, Oghuz Turks, Chinese, and Jews. Otsuka has also correctly shown that a second fragment in the Tehran University Library containing the history of the Ghaznavids was originally part of this same copy.[21] Various sections of this manuscript are set apart from one another by sheets of thick paper and could be rearranged in

20 It may be that a second manuscript, Tehran University Library ms. 5715, contains Qāshānī's original pre-Islamic and caliphal history. A preliminary investigation shows it to vary somewhat from both the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* and Rashīd al-Dīn's later appropriation of the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*.

21 Otsuka, "Qāshānī, the first world historian", p. 126. Elsewhere, I have misidentified this second manuscript, Tehran University Library ms. 35-J, as a copy of Rashīd al-Dīn's work: Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, p. 264, ms. X_5.

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almost any order. Nevertheless, the basic structure of the work can be assumed from the surviving sections and by the version of it that Rashīd al-Dīn later presented to Öljeitü.[22] That structure builds on a particular form of universal history that was already four centuries old by the time Qāshānī wrote.

Qāshānī's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, like Rashīd al-Dīn's work after it, falls into two main halves. The second half looks outside the Middle East, a distinct broadening of the horizon of Islamic historiography made possible by the trajectories of travel and exchange that the Mongol conquests opened up. The majority of the work, though, conforms to a genre of Perso-Islamic universal historiography with roots in the early tenth century, when Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) produced his monumental *Taʾrīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*.[23] That work begins with a history of pre-Islamic prophets and kings and then tells of the life of Muḥammad and chronicles the course of caliphal history to Ṭabarī's time. For Ṭabarī, writing at the height of the ʿAbbasid caliphate, this format allowed him to present pre-Islamic history as a foil for the rise of the final prophecy and the expansion of the Islamic community. Thus, the narrative of Sasanian history is increasingly interrupted by sections telling the pre-Islamic history of Arab tribes, until the birth and career of Muḥammad eventually displace the Sasanians altogether.

In the decades after Ṭabarī's death, Abū al-Ḥasan Masʿūdī applied this format of universal historiography in a new way, adding at the end of the caliphal history a narrative of the governors of Khurāsān up to the contemporary Ghaznavids. This allowed Masʿūdī to create a historiographical equivalency between the two dynasties, matching the Ghaznavid's own presentation of themselves as deputies to the caliphs in eastern Iran. The model that Masʿūdī set for later writers was to present the pre-Islamic and caliphal narrative as a background of Islamic history against which to cast later sections giving the parallel history of select non-caliphal dynasties.

For Masʿūdī, like Ṭabarī before him, the story of the ʿAbbāsids was ongoing. The first historian to write a Perso-Islamic universal history after Hülegü's conquest and the killing of al-Mustaʿṣim was Nāṣir al-Dīn Bayḍāwī. His *Niẓām*

22 Otsuka, "Qāshānī, the first world historian", p. 142 offers what is probably the correct original sequence of sections, at least for the Perso-Islamic universal history portion of this manuscript. He further rearranges the histories of the Franks, Indians, Oghuz Turks, Chinese, and Jews to match the order in Rashīd al-Dīn's collection, though there is no way to know if this is a correct reconstruction.

23 The development of Perso-Islamic universal historiography is described in fuller detail in Stefan Kamola, "A sensational and unique novelty: the reception of Rashid al-Din's world history", *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 58, no. 1 (2020): pp. 53–55 https://doi.org/10.1080/05786967.2018.1544836.

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al-Tawārīkh expanded on Masʿūdī's model, adding several new entries to the list of non-caliphal dynasties. As Charles Melville has shown, Bayḍāwī did this in order to cast the new Ilkhanid rulers of the Middle East as one of a series of equally legitimate dynasties to hold secular power, tying their right to rule to the legitimacy of the dynasties they had replaced.[24] Furthermore, the geographic spread of these dynasties matched the extent of the Mongol conquests, again turning the presentation of the past into a historical justification for the extent of the contemporary dynasty's power.

Melville expresses some surprise at two dynasties included in Bayḍāwī's list: the Shīʿī Ismāʿīlīs and the Salghurids of Fārs. Bayḍāwī himself admits that his inclusion of the Salghurids is due to his personal allegiance to the dynasty, and Melville speculates that Bayḍāwī inserts them where he does – immediately before the Khwārazmshāhs – to throw the latter dynasty's flaws into sharp relief against the great praise heaped on the Salghurids.[25] Melville makes less of an effort to explain the inclusion of the Ismāʿīlīs, but as they appear just before the Salghurids, they may also serve to highlight the good works of Bayḍāwī's patrons. It is probably no accident that the Ismāʿīlīs and Khwārazmshāhs were the two main dynasties targeted by the Mongol conquests. When Bayḍāwī wrote in the 1270s, Ābish was still the nominal head of the Salghurid dynasty (alongside her Mongol husband). Theirs was not a story of a dynasty conquered, but rather an example of relatively successful collaboration.

These same three dynasties that provide Bayḍāwī with a study in comparative legitimacy – the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, Salghurids, and Khwārazmshāhs – appear also in the most complete manuscript of Qāshānī's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, but they appear to have been included in the reverse order. The disordered section on the Khwārazmshāhs can be confidently reconstructed as having immediately followed the history of the Seljuqs as a kind of appendix.[26] On the other hand, the history of the Ismāʿīlīs transitions directly into the Ayyūbid dynasty of Salāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (Saladin) and other late dynasties. The section of the Salghurids, written on twelve folios set apart from the rest of the manuscript by heavy paper, could have been located just about anywhere, but the precedent set by Bayḍāwī, and the relative contemporaneity of the Salghurids to the Khwārazmshāhs and Ismāʿīlīs makes it most likely that they appeared after the

24 Charles Melville, "From Adam to Abaqa: Qaḍi Baiḍāwī's rearrangement of history", *Studia Iranica* 30 (2001): pp. 12–13.

25 Melville, "From Adam to Abaqa", p. 14.

26 Tehran University Library ms. 9067, 66a includes the end of the history of the Saljūqs and the beginning of the history of Khwārazmshāhs, showing these two sections to have been contiguous in Qāshānī's world history, just as they appear in Rashīd al-Dīn's later rendition.

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Khwārazmian history and before the Ismāʿīlī. Qāshānī preserves the traditional format of Perso-Islamic universal historiography modeled by Bayḍāwī, with a more extensive list of local dynasties from the time of the Mongol conquest. The modified order of sections, which places the Ismāʿīlī history after that of the Khwārazmshāhs and Salghurids, is probably due to the late addition of the Ismāʿīlī history as a supplement to the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*.

4 Rashīd al-Dīn's Use of Qāshānī

When Rashīd al-Dīn appropriated Qāshānī's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* for his own collection, he altered the original in a variety of ways. Some sections were adopted almost unchanged from Qāshānī's text. Most notably, Rashīd al-Dīn appropriated Qāshānī's pre-Islamic and caliphal history so completely that the resulting manuscripts of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* retain the title of Qāshānī's *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*.[27] In the history of the Ismāʿīlīs, as well as those of China and India that come after the Perso-Islamic portion of the work, Qāshānī describes his process of preparing these sections on Ghazan's bequest. For Rashīd al-Dīn, such descriptions had to be recast to reflect Öljeitü's patronage and to remove Qāshānī's agency altogether. For example, Rashīd al-Dīn retains much of Qāshānī's ornamental prose in describing how the history of the Ismāʿīlīs was intended as a supplement of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*. He replaces his own name for Qāshānī's as the instigator of the work, and he removes Ghazan Khān's name as the patron of the larger collection.[28]

Among the non-caliphal dynasties of the Perso-Islamic history, Rashīd al-Dīn entirely omits two sequences of short histories: first of the governors of Northern Iraq and Syria and the Ṭāhirids and Sāmānids of eastern Iran; and second, the Ayyūbids, Ghūrids, governors of North Africa, and the Seljuqs of Rūm. Reasons can be found for some of these omissions. The Ṭāhirids and Sāmānids are to some degree covered already in the Ghaznavids history, while some of the smaller dynasties such as the Ghūrids and the Seljuqs of Rum find their treatment in Rashīd al-Dīn's dynastic history of the Mongols. Throughout his account of the reigns of Chinggis and his successors as Great Khan, Rashīd al-Dīn scatters sections telling the parallel narratives of local governors in China and the eastern Islamic world. As these dynasties are absorbed into the

27 See, for example, Istanbul TSM ms. H.1654, 51b.

28 Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, *Tārīkh-i Ismāʿīliyān*, ed. Muḥammad Raushan (Tehran: Miras Maktūb, 2008), p. 1; *c.f.* Qāshānī/Dānishpazūh, p. 3.

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expanding power either of the Khwārazmshāh or the Mongols, their narratives disappear from the text. Like Ṭabarī telling the history of Sasanian Iran, the pre-Mongol dynasties of the eastern Islamic world are narratively displaced by the family of Rashīd al-Dīn's patrons.

Rashīd al-Dīn's short narratives of affairs in the eastern Islamic world contemporary to Chinggis Khan and his descendants tend to follow the chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr, which is organized as an annual chronicle and therefore relatively easy to correlate to the narrative of Mongol royal history. Qāshānī's narrative for the Ghūrids and others are more generalized and contain few dates. Thus, they defy easy correlation to the course of Mongol history. In any case, Qāshānī was preparing his *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* for Ghazan at the same time as Rashīd al-Dīn was writing his dynastic history, and so his version of these events would not have been available as a model to Rashīd al-Dīn. When it came time for Rashīd al-Dīn to prepare his world history, he may have dropped these short sections in order to avoid repeating material already found in his dynastic history.

Such an explanation breaks down, however, when we recognize that, among the five non-caliphal Islamic dynasties that Rashīd al-Dīn retains in his world history, the Khwārazmshāhs and Salghurids are also included in the parallel histories imbedded within Rashīd al-Dīn's dynastic history of the Mongols. A repetition of Khwārazmian history in the world history may be due to the fact that they, like the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Quhistān and Alamūt, were the last major non-caliphal dynasty that the Chinggisid Mongols had to defeat militarily in order to secure command over the eastern Islamic world. The Salghurids, who voluntarily accepted Mongol rule and who continued to govern Fārs on behalf of the early Ilkhans, did not present as potent a narrative of Mongol conquest. The inclusion of a Salghurid history and not, for example, a separate history of the Rūm Seljuqs, the Zangīds of Mosul, or any other local dynasty, seems therefore to be a simple holdover from the example set by Bayḍāwī and Qāshānī to include the trio of dynasties – Khwārazmshāhs, Salghurids, Ismāʿīlīs – as a palette of Iranian sovereignty on the eve of the Mongol invasion.

In sum, Rashīd al-Dīn retained the Salghurids as part of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, even as he dropped other dynasties that Qāshānī had included. This was due perhaps in part because of the structural precedent set by Bayḍāwī and Qāshānī, as well as the existence of Waṣṣāf's long narrative on the dynasty: by the time Rashīd al-Dīn wrote, the Salghurids were well established as part of the history of Mongols in the Islamic world. However, rather than simply recast Qāshānī's history of the Salghurids as his own, he rewrote this section, drawing on Qāshānī's model but basing his narrative on that of Waṣṣāf. His reason for making such a significant change to such an insignificant portion of the overall

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work is our next topic, and it relates to the relative contents of Qāshānī's history, when compared to those of Bayḍāwī and Waṣṣāf.

5 The Salghurids in Ilkhanid Historiography

A comparison of Ilkhanid histories of the Salghurids is a uniquely productive endeavor, since numerous examples survive which have impacted the modern historiography of the dynasty. Among Ilkhanid historians, Bayḍāwī and Waṣṣāf established the pattern of including their patrons in histories written by and for Mongols. Our understanding of Salghurid history is largely based on their works. Of secondary importance are the later versions written by Rashīd al-Dīn and various late- and post-Ilkhanid historians.[29] The accounts given by Bayḍāwī and Waṣṣāf agree closely with one another on most questions of dynastic history, and might be considered a synoptic Ilkhanid account of the dynasty, to which Rashīd al-Dīn mostly adheres.

Among the late Ilkhanid sources, the most detailed is that of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī, who included the Salghurids in his own universal history, the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*.[30] This account diverges from the synoptic view of Bayḍāwī, Waṣṣāf, and Rashīd al-Dīn, and this divergence has not served Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī well in recent scholarship. In his survey of sources on the Salghurids, Erdoğan Merçil dismisses Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's alternate narrative as erroneous because it deviates from the synoptic version.[31] By the point he made that assessment, however, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's alternate account had already affected early efforts to reconstruct Salghurid history.

Ḥāmd Allāh Mustawfī's version of Salghurid history was a main source for T. W. Haig's 1936 entry on the dynasty in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, as well as Laurence Lockhart's 1964 entry on Fārs in the second edition of the same work.[32] After Merçil's assessment of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī as a source, this picture changes. Writing in 1987 for the *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Bertold Spuler based his narrative of the dynasty instead on the works of

29 The sources for Salghurid history are listed by Merçil, *Fars Atabegleri Salgurlular*, pp. xi–xix.

30 Mustawfī/Navā'ī, pp. 501–507.

31 Merçil, *Fars Atabegleri Salgurlular*, p. xv.

32 Haig 1936; Lockhart 1964. T. W. Haig, "Salghurids," *EI1*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, *et al.* Volume 4, (Leiden: Brill, 1936), pp. 105–106.; Laurence Lockhart, "Fārs." *EI2*, edited by P. J. Bearman *et al.* Volume 2, fascicule 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1964), pp. 811–812.

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Waṣṣāf and Bayḍāwī, in which he was followed by C. E. Bosworth eight years later.[33]

Comparing pre-1975 surveys of the dynasties with later ones reveals certain disagreements, which can be traced to discrepancies between Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and the synoptic histories. The most pressing example concerns the duration and effect of Ṭughrīl b. Sunqur's attempt to claim command of Fārs after his uncle Zangī's death. Lockhart and Haig state that Ṭughrīl managed to assume the royal title in spite of the counter-claim by his ultimately victorious cousin, Saʿd b. Zangī. They get this from Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, who states that Ṭughrīl governed for nine years, ending with his capture by Saʿd in 599/1202–3.[34] By contrast, Waṣṣāf and Rashīd al-Dīn downplay Ṭughrīl's success: Waṣṣāf credits him with "grasping the affairs of state" for a few months with each of his repeated attempts against Tekele.[35] Rashīd al-Dīn allows Ṭughrīl a total reign of one year, adding that he was captured by Tekele and imprisoned, and that his eyes were put out before he died.[36] Bayḍāwī agrees with Waṣṣāf on the fleeting narrative of Ṭughrīl's power, while all three indicate that the revolt was limited to the reign of Tekele.[37] It is this later, synoptic view of Bayḍāwī, Waṣṣāf, and Rashīd al-Dīn that Merçil, Spuler, and Bosworth prefer. Bosworth concludes based on these sources that "it therefore seems probable that we should eliminate Toghril from the list of Salghurids who actually ruled in Fars," a judgment he enforces in his subsequent survey of Islamic dynasties.[38]

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's alternate view of Ṭughrīl's career gains some validation from Qāshānī's world history. Unfortunately, the most complete manuscript of Qāshānī's text contains a lacuna exactly corresponding to the reign of

33 Bertold Spuler, "Atābakān-e Fārs," *EIr*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater, Volume 2, fascicle 8, (New York: Columbia Unversity Press, 1987) pp. 894–896.; C. E. Bosworth, "Salghurids." *EI2*, edited by P. J. Bearman *et al.* Volume 8, fascicule 145–146, (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 978–979.

34 Mustawfī/Navā'ī, p. 504.

35 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 150.

36 Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, *Tārīkh-i Salghuriyān-i Fārs*, edited by Muḥammad Raushan (Tehran: Miras Maktūb, 2010), p. 5, from Istanbul TSM ms. H.1653, 339b.

37 A later variant of Bayḍāwī's history inserts a note in the introduction to the section on the Salghurids to the effect that Ṭughrīl ruled for eight years, even though the body of the text only credits him with a few months: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar Bayḍāwī, *Niẓām al-tawārīkh*, ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddis (Tehran: Afshar, 2003), pp. 119, 122. The later Ilkhānid historians Zarkūb-i Shīrāzī and Shabānkāra'ī give even more abbreviated accounts, which are still in line with the synoptic version: Aḥmad b. Abī al-Khayr Zarkūb-i Shīrāzī, *Shīrāznāma*, ed. Bahman Karīmī (Tehran: Rawshanā'ī, 1931), p. 51; Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad Shabānkāra'i, *Majmaʿ al-ansāb*, ed. Mir Hāshim Muḥaddis (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1984), p. 183.

38 Bosworth, "Salghurids"; C. E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 207.

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Ṭughrīl b. Sunqur: the header for his reign elides directly into that of his cousin and successor Saʿd b. Zangī.[39] However, at the end of the reign of Saʿd b. Zangī, Qāshānī states that his reign lasted twenty-three years, rather than the twenty-nine years found in the histories of Bayḍāwī and Rashīd al-Dīn.[40] This suggests that during the years leading up to Ṭughrīl's capture in 599/1202–3, sovereignty over Fārs was more contested than is admitted by the synoptic Ilkhanid historiography or the modern accounts based on it.

As mentioned above, both Bayḍāwī and Waṣṣāf lived and worked in Salghurid Shīrāz before moving north to the Ilkhanid capital region. Their personal experience of patronage under the descendants of Saʿd b. Zangī give them ample reason to emphasize the legitimacy of that particular branch of the Salghurid dynasty, at the expense of the senior branch of Sunqur. With this in mind, Bosworth's decision to remove Ṭughrīl b. Sunqur from the list of Salghurid sovereigns is perhaps ill-advised. As compelling and full as the narratives of Bayḍāwī and Waṣṣāf seem, the alternate vision presented by Ḥāmd Allāh Mustawfī and, presumably at one point, by ʿAbd Allāh Qāshānī, should not be so lightly tossed aside.

6 Rashīd al-Dīn's Composite History of the Salghurids

The lacuna of the reign of Ṭughrīl b. Sunqur in the manuscript of Qāshānī's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* makes any more certain conclusions about that passage impossible unless and until more manuscript evidence comes to light. However, it is worth speculating, knowing what we know about Rashīd al-Dīn's use of Qāshānī's text elsewhere, whether the few pieces of unique information found in Rashīd al-Dīn's account, relating to Ṭughrīl's imprisonment and blinding, might have their origin in the lost portion of Qāshānī's text.

We get a sense of how this might have happened by comparing these historians' accounts of the reign of Ṭughrīl's father, Sunqur b. Mawdūd (1148–11611). Sunqur had been appointed as *atābak* of the Seljuq prince Malikshāh b. Maḥmūd, who later reigned briefly as Sulṭān Malikshāh III (1152–3). Rashīd al-Dīn's account of Sunqur's seizure of power begins as follows:

39 Tehran University Library ms. 9067, 295a, line 14, perhaps reflecting a later scribe's adherence to the synoptic view.

40 Tehran University Library ms. 9067, 295b; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Salghuriyān-i Fārs*, p. 9, from Istanbul TSM ms. H.1653, 339b; Bayḍāwī/Muḥaddis, p. 123.

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> Yaʿqūb b. Arslān al-Afsharī took control of a village of Khūzistān with a large force, and Sunqur b. Mawdūd al-Salghurī, as is reported, pitched his tent on a level area of Mount Gīlū, and in the year 543 [1148–9] he attacked Malikshāh. The stars of his horoscope climbed to the pinnacle of exaltation. No sooner were the ranks of battle drawn, then Malikshāh's army was defeated.
>
> The kingship of Shīrāz was purified for Sunqur, and the crown of the sultanate was set on [his] head, and the order of kingship and the promotion of princely affairs arose, and he purified the custom of justice and equity. Yaʿqūb b. Arslān, who was known as Atābek Shūmla, brought his army several times from Khūzistān, and he made conflict and combat with Atābek Sunqur, with the result that [Yaʿqūb] was defeated. Sunqur recaptured the contested region from the Saljūqs. And in Ṣafar of the year 544 [June 1149], he seized Sulṭān Maḥmūd Saljūqī, known as Sultan Rūy-dashtī, and he bound him in a new servitude in the White Fortress.[41]

Most of this account, up through the defeat of Yaʿqūb b. Arslān, is a fairly faithful reproduction of the corresponding section of Waṣṣāf's history, stripped of the latter's verse embellishments.[42] For this portion, the account of Rashīd al-Dīn adds only the detail that Yaʿqūb was known as Atābak Shūmla. This, incidentally, is the name typically deployed for Yaʿqūb b. Arslān by Ibn al-Athīr, and so Rashīd al-Dīn probably knew the name from the process of preparing the brief parallel histories of minor rulers that he scatters throughout his dynastic history of the Mongols.[43]

Besides the name Atābak Shumla, which can be attributed to Rashīd al-Dīn's reading of Ibn al-Athīr, the two sentences about Sunqur's recapture of territory and seizure of Sultan Maḥmūd are not found in Waṣṣāf or Bayḍāwī. They do, however, match Qāshānī's account.[44] Earlier elements of this passage also match that of Qāshānī, but in those instances he and Rashīd al-Dīn each seem to follow Waṣṣāf. Qāshānī and Rashīd al-Dīn each also employ phrases that seem to originate in Bayḍāwī's text, but their choice of quotations differ from one another. This indicates that Rashīd al-Dīn and Qāshānī knew and used the histories of Waṣṣāf and Bayḍāwī independently of one another. Into this mix, Qāshānī introduces material that diverges from the synoptic account by

41 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Salghuriyān-i Fārs*, p. 3, from Istanbul TSM ms. H.1653, 339b.

42 Waṣṣāf 1853, 149.

43 Within those parallel narratives, Rashīd al-Dīn names Shumla alongside Tekele of Fārs as supporting Sulaymanshāh in his failed bid for the Saljūq throne in 1160–61, after the death of Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Malikshāh: RD/RM, p. 319.

44 Tehran University Library ms. 9067, 295b.

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crediting Sunqur b. Mawdūd with successes overlooked by both Waṣṣāf and Bayḍāwī. In turn, Rashīd al-Dīn demonstrates that he is aware of Qāshānī's account, and he draws on it selectively, even though he models his narrative on that of Waṣṣāf.

The sentence following the passage quoted above describes Sunqur's building commissions. Here again, Rashīd al-Dīn adheres closely to Waṣṣāf's model, with the exception of giving thirteen years as the length of Sunqur's reign, where Waṣṣāf (alone among Ilkhanid historians) gives fourteen. The subsequent passage best exemplifies the complexity of Rashīd al-Dīn's borrowing from the three other historians, and so each of the relevant versions is given here in full.

> Bayḍāwī: And he gave the vizierate to Tāj al-Dīn Shīrāzī, who had served as vizier to Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Muḥammad, and who at the time of his rebellion was governor at the behest of Malikshāh and who built a madrasa and ribāṭ in Shīrāz.[45]

> Qāshānī: And in the end, in the meadow of Muṣā, he died. And he had three sons: the eldest was Ṭughrīl, the middle Masʿud, and the youngest Malikshāh.[46]

> Waṣṣāf: In the year 558 [1163], he transferred the seal of the state (*khātam-i mulk*) to the finger of his successors and he hastened from the nobility of the throne to the house of eternal reward.[47]

> Rashīd al-Dīn: In the year 5[5]7 [1162], in the meadow of Muṣā, the seal of the kingdom (*khātam-i mamlakat*) was removed from his finger and placed on the finger of his son. When he died, his vizier was Tāj al-Dīn Shīrāzī, who had served as vizier to Sulṭān Muḥammad [and] who built a ribāṭ and madrasa in Shīrāz.[48]

Rashīd al-Dīn's language here matches each of the earlier histories in unique ways: Bayḍāwī's information on the vizier Tāj al-Dīn and his building program in Shīrāz, Qāshānī's location of Sunqur's death, and a somewhat moderated version of Waṣṣāf's stylized description of the succession. Rashīd al-Dīn and

45 Bayḍāwī/Muḥaddis, p. 121.
46 Tehran University Library ms. 9067, 296a.
47 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 149.
48 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Salghuriyān-i Fārs,* p. 4, from Istanbul TSM ms. H.1653, 339b.

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Waṣṣāf disagree only on the year of Sunqur's death, but the difference is consistent with Waṣṣāf's unique assertion that Sunqur ruled for fourteen years.[49] Of all the many sections where Rashīd al-Dīn's world history overlaps with that of Qāshānī, Rashīd al-Dīn's history of the Salghurids is indebted less to Qāshānī than to another contemporary author, Waṣṣāf. This may be due simply to the vizier's loyalty to Waṣṣāf, who was a political ally, or to the need to align the narrative to the synoptic pro-Saʿdī stance of Waṣṣāf and Bayḍāwī. Neither of these impulses, however, nor even the basic impulse to include the Salghurids at all, seems to have held Rashīd al-Dīn's allegiance for long.

7 Did Rashīd al-Dīn Prepare Two Versions of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*?

A full comparison of this type could and should be conducted to better understand the relationship between the Salghurid histories presented by the five Ilkhanid historians under discussion here. As this very preliminary study makes evident, though, a consideration of Qāshānī's unique version contributes to our knowledge of history and historiography. First, it validates an alternate reading to the standard synoptic account shaped by the personal backgrounds of Bayḍāwī and Waṣṣāf and solidified by Rashīd al-Dīn's decision to recast Salghurid history in the mold of Waṣṣāf. Second, it can at least begin to explain the few places where the history of the Salghurids found in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* does diverge from Waṣṣāf's model. This suggests that a full edition and comparative study of Qāshānī's history of the Salghurids may reveal further bits of new historical information that Rashīd al-Dīn did not choose to integrate into his narrative.

Even before pursuing a full and systematic comparison of these several Salghurid histories, the peculiar manuscript situation of Rashīd al-Dīn's Salghurid history raises one intriguing possibility. This is the idea that he prepared two versions of his world history: one that included the Salghurid and Ismāʿīlī histories and one that did not. The histories of the Salghurids and the Ismāʿīlīs are only found in two manuscript lines of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*.[50] One of these lines originates in the autograph copy of a replacement volume for the world history volume of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* prepared by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, court

49 By comparison, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī says that Sunqur ruled for thirteen years, but that he died in 556/1161: Mustawfī/Navāʾī, p. 503.

50 These are manuscripts of the ο and σ groups: Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, pp. 240–241, 248–53. Manuscript U_3 (London BL ms. Or. 1684) contains these sections and was copied from an unknown manuscript or manuscripts in India in the early nineteenth century: Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, p. 260.

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librarian to Shāhrukh (1405–1447).[51] At the beginning of that copy, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū explains how he had replaced Rashīd al-Dīn's pre-Islamic history with a version of events that he himself had already composed for Shāhrukh's son, Bāysunghur (d. 1433).[52] Other portions of the text are reproduced faithfully, though the history of the Jews is omitted and the history of India is severely abbreviated. These replacement sections copied by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū are interspersed among three gatherings of pages from original manuscripts of the world history prepared at Rashīd al-Dīn's scriptorium in Tabriz.[53] The largest of the original fragments includes the histories of the Salghurids and Ismāʿīlīs, the latter of which ends with a colophon dated to 1314, making it the earliest dated Persian copy of the world history. Among them, they contain a major portion of the caliphal history, as well as the histories of the Ghaznavids, Great Seljuqs, Khwārazmshāhs, Salghurids, Ismāʿīlīs, Turks, and Chinese.

At least eight copies of this refurbished manuscript survive in collections in Paris, Tehran, St. Petersburg, and Lahore.[54] In addition, there exists a second line of manuscripts, also originating in a Shāhrukhid manuscript that survives in four copies.[55] Together, these two Shāhrukhid lines represent over half of the full or near-full Persian copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's world history, and have therefore significantly shaped the reception of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*.

However, the most complete manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn's world history to survive from his lifetime does not contain either the Salghurid or the Ismāʿīlī history.[56] This copy is dated to 1317, one year before Rashīd al-Dīn's death and three years after the fragment later refurbished by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. While it lacks the Salghurid and Ismāʿīlī histories, it includes the rest of Rashīd al-Dīn's world history, including the pre-Islamic and caliphal histories, as well as the history of the Jews and Rashīd al-Dīn's full history of India. This last section is further supplemented by Rashīd al-Dīn's treatise against the Indian philosophy of transubstantiation.

We have, then, two copies from Rashīd al-Dīn's lifetime of the portion of his world history containing the non-caliphal Islamic dynasties. The earlier

51 This is Istanbul TSM ms. H.1653, discussed at Kamola, *Making Mongol History,* pp. 180, 249, and catalogued there as manuscript S_1.

52 Istanbul TSM ms. H.1653, 3b.

53 Mohamad Reza Ghiasian, *Lives of the Prophets: the Illustrations to Hafiz-i Abru's "Assembly of Chronicles"* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 81–91 describes this manuscript and demonstrates that these Ilkhanid fragments are in fact from two different original manuscripts.

54 These are catalogued at Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, pp. 249–253 (mss. S_2–S_9).

55 This are the manuscripts of the ○ group: Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, pp. 240–241.

56 This is Istanbul TSM ms. H.1654, catalogued at Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, p. 242 (manuscript P_2).

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of these two includes both the Salghurid and Ismāʿīlī histories, while the latter one includes neither. It seems that when Rashīd al-Dīn first assembled his world history for Öljeitü in 1307, he retained these sections. In part this may have been a form of historiographical inertia: the Ismāʿīlīs and Salghurids had been included alongside the history of the Khwārazmshāhs first by Bayḍāwī and then by Qāshānī. Nevertheless, when writing this section, Rashīd al-Dīn chose not to simply appropriate Qāshānī's text, but instead to use it as a source of supplemental information for a narrative largely based on the synoptic narrative by Waṣṣāf.

Late in his life, Rashīd al-Dīn seems to have revisited his world history. The treatise on transubstantiation appended to the history of India in the 1317 manuscript was copied from one of Rashīd al-Dīn's early theological collections. This was a topic Rashīd al-Dīn returned to several times in his career, eventually applying his critique of Buddhist transubstantiation as a part of his argument for Öljeitü's unique nature as a sovereign.[57] His decision to drop the history of the Ismāʿīlīs may similarly be related to the role that Shīʿīsm came to play in Öljeitü's ruling ideology.[58] What, then, happened to cause Rashīd al-Dīn to omit the history of the Salghurids from this later version of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*? Perhaps with the passage of time and the loss of the section on the Ismāʿīlīs, the spell of historiographical precedent was broken. The loyalty that Bayḍāwī and Waṣṣāf felt for their patrons was increasingly obsolete, and from the start of Öljeitü's reign, command of Fārs had been reassigned to a new family of governors, the Injūids. Rather than presenting the Khwārazmshāhs, Salghurids, and Ismāʿīlīs as a troika of dynasties integrated by violence or collaboration into the Mongol state, the focus of the latter version of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* lands solely on the Khwārazmshāhs, the targets of Chinggis Khan's original invasion.

The ideas presented in this paper do not radically alter our understanding either of Salghurid history or of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*. They do, however, invite further investigation. For example, given what we now know about Rashīd al-Dīn's use of Qāshānī's writings, the fact that he rewrote Salghurid history, rather than simply appropriate a text that already existed, invites a fuller comparison of the two works and a reconsideration of non-synoptic Ilkhanid accounts of the dynasty. Further, the Salghurid section may hold a clue to the changing message conveyed by Rashīd al-Dīn's rendition of Perso-Islamic

57 Brack, "Mediating Sacred Kingship", pp. 244–251.

58 Stefan Kamola, "Beyond history: Rashid al-Din and Iranian kingship," in *Iran After the Mongols*, ed. Sussan Babaie (London: I. B. Tauris, 2019), pp. 55–74.

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universal history. In the first years after Hülegü's invasion, Bayḍāwī had inserted the Salghurids into his history alongside the Khwārazmshāhs and Ismāʿīlīs with the intention of praising his own patrons in contrast to the dynasties that had antagonized the Mongols. For Qāshānī, who included a long list of regional dynasties in his *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, the Salghurids were part of a complex political landscape replaced by the Mongol conquest. Rashīd al-Dīn followed this precedent, stripping away some of the lesser dynasties, which had already been treated in his earlier dynastic history of the Mongols, but retaining the basic list of Bayḍāwī's history. Sometime later, he streamlined his presentation of history: in his latter version of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, the Khwārazmshāhs appear as the last in a line of Turkic dynasties of Eastern Iran, after the Ghaznavids and Seljuqs, and just before the history of the Oghuz Turks. I have argued elsewhere that the history of Oghuz Khan that begins that section stands as a metonym for Hülegü's invasion of the eastern Islamic world.[59] If this is the case, then the latter *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* presents the Khwārazmshāhs in the same light as Bayḍāwī had done: as an antitype to the true heroes of the story of Mongol history. For Rashīd al-Dīn, those heroes were Hülegü and his golden family, not a defunct local dynasty from the south of their realm.

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59 Stefan Kamola, "History and legend in the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*: Abraham, Alexander, and Oghu Khan," *JRAS* 25, no. 4 (2015): pp. 567–568.

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PART 2

Material Goods and Their Exchange in the Ilkhanid World

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CHAPTER 5

Background and Aftermath of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ṭībī's Voyage: a Reexamination of the Interaction between the Ilkhanate and the Yuan at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century

Qiu Yihao

1 Introduction

In 1298, Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304), the ruler of Ilkhanate, dispatched Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ṭībī as his ambassador to the Yuan Empire with a merchant fleet. He came from an eminent family from Kīsh Island (*jazīra-i Kīsh*), which monopolized the trade in Persian Gulf at that time.[1] The route of this embassy coincided with the return route of Marco Polo, and the status and experience of the two were similar. Compared with the voyage of Marco Polo, however, which set out from China in 1291, Fakhr al-Dīn played a more important role, and the experience during trip was more marvelous.

Nevertheless, the influence of Fakhr al-Dīn was obscured in later eras. This may be attributed to the book called *The Description of the World*, which was narrated by Marco Polo himself. Not only was the book translated into other languages in a short period of time, but it also became the data source for Europeans' imagining about the Eastern world. In contrast, the main resource of Fakhr al-Dīn's voyage comes from *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, which was written by 'Abdallah b. Faḍlallāh Sharaf al-Dīn Shīrāzī (also known as Waṣṣāf al-Ḥadrāt), a contemporary Persian historian. His work is noted for its exuberant rhetoric

1 Kīsh (also spelt as Qais or Qaiṣ) was one of the major islands in the Persian Gulf. In this historical period, it was an emporia in the Gulf as famous as the other two, Sīrāf and Hormūz. For a discussion of the various spelling of this place name, see M. Th. Houtsma ed. *Enzyklopaedie des Islam: geographisches, ethnographisches und biographisches Wörterbuch der Muhamedanischen Völker*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1913–1938), pp. 696–697, and Dorothea Krawulsky, *Īrān Das Reich der Īlḫāne: eine topographisch-historische studie* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1978), p. 193, "Ǧazīra-ye Kīš." In Mediaeval Chinese geographical sources, the name of Kīsh was recorded as *Jishi* 記施 or *Qieshi* 怯失. The first form see Zhao Rukuo, *Zhufan zhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju chu ban she, 1996), p. 108, and Chen Dazhen and Lü Guisun, *Dade nanhai zhi* (Guangzhou: Guangdong ren min chu ban she, 1991), p. 47. For the latter form see *Yuan shi*, comp. Song Lian (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), vol. 63, p. 1571.

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in terms of style, which often obscures the author's narrative, thus resulting in the long-standing lack of a complete translation.[2] Such limitations to some extent restricted the spread of Fakhr al-Dīn's story.

Since the late nineteenth century, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall and Paul Pelliot indicated the significance of this trip while studying the diplomatic and cultural exchange within the Mongol World Empire down to early fourteenth century.[3] Yet we have to admit that there are still some ambiguous points on this issue. First, in spite of the danger of the sea route, Fakhr al-Dīn spent 9 years all together travelling, which was much longer than his contemporaries, e.g. Marco Polo and Odoric. It seems can only be explained by the political context of Ilkhanate at that time.

Secondly, Fakhr al-Dīn arrived in Yuan Empire during the later period of Temür Qa'an's (in Chinese, his posthumous title was *Chengzong* 成宗, r. 1294–1307) reign. During this period, Temür Qa'an took some measures to solve the long-lasting confrontation among all the successive khanates of Chinggis Khan, and persuaded his cousins to sign a general peace agreement. Therefore, the diplomatic relations and commercial trade were more active back then. Fakhr al-Dīn, to some extent, was a witness of this event. However, the previous studies for some reason lack discussion on his experience in Yuan Court.

As previous researchers have indicated, a serious economic crisis occurred during Ghazan Khan's first few years of ruling. This forced Ghazan to carry out tax reform on a large scale and shift his focus from domestic to overseas trade.[4]

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2 Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persian: the Tartar Dominion (1265–1502)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), vol. 2, pp. 67–68.

3 Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane, das ist der Mongolen in Persien* (Darmstadt: Leske, 1842); and a new edition published recently, Waṣṣāf al-Ḥaḍrat, 'Abd Allāh ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Geschichte Wassaf's: Persisch herausgegeben und deutsch übersetzt von Hammer-Purgstall; neu herausgegeben von Sibylle Wentker nach Vorarbeiten von Klaus Wundsam* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010 on), vols. 1–3. For an English translation of the relevant passages, see: Waṣṣāf/Elliot, pp. 45–47; French translation see: d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols: depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusquà Timour-Lang*, Chinese translation by Feng Chengjun, *Duosang menggu shi* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935), vol. 2, p. 319. Paul Pelliot was first scholar to point out that Fakhr al-Dīn's embassy was the same one which was mentioned in Yang Shu's biography, see Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1959), vol. 1, under "Caçan," pp. 120–121. A Japanese translation was supplied by Etani Toshiyuki, "Gazan-Han no tai Genchō shisetsu haken ni tsuite: 14 seiki shotō ni okeru Iran-Chūgoku kōshō shi no isshaku," *Oriento*, 8 (1966): pp. 49–55.

4 Ann K. Lambton, "Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia (Part I–II)," *Studia Islamica*, 64 (1986): pp. 79–99, and 65 (1987): pp. 97–123; Denise Aigle, *La Fārs sous la domination mongole: Politique et fiscalite (XIIIe–XIVe S.)* (Paris, 2005); Watabe Ryōko, "Iruhanchō no chihō tōchi: Fārusu chihō gyōsei wo jirei toshite," *Nihon Chūtō gakkai nenpō*, 12 (1997): pp. 185–216. Other

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The Ṭībīs, who served as a merchants, local officials, and royal agents, met the needs of Ghazan.[5] As one of the typical cases of the merchant families relating to the overseas trade, studies on Fakhr al-Dīn's voyage can also deepen our understanding of the Yuan-Ilkhanid trade activities.[6]

Another reason to reopen this topic is that several new versions of *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf* have been published recently. The most well-known version of this work was published in Bombay and then reprinted in Tehran in 1960s.[7] This version is complete in content and clear in printing but without any collation, causing enormous errors, especially on the non-Persian/Arabic person names, place names, political terms etc. In 2009, in cooperation with Turkish scholars, Professor Afshār published a manuscript collected by Nuru-Osmaniye Library (photocopy edition). Originally, this manuscript belonged to Rashīd al-Dīn's private library and is regarded as a version that is very close to the original edition, and can thus help us correct the errors in the Bombay version.[8] I have also referred to the new version edited by 'Alī Riẓā Ḥājyān Najād (only volume 4),[9]

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relevant studies include: Nicholas Lowick, "Trade Patterns on the Persian Gulf in the Light of Recent Coin Evidence," *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy, and History: Studies in Honour of G. Miles* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1974), pp. 319–333 and Ralph Kauz and Roderich Ptak, "Hormuz in Yuan and Ming sources," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 88 (2001): pp. 27–75.

5 Research on the ruling families of Persian Gulf during the 12–14th century particularly focus on al-Ṭībī's family, see Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 123–127; Lambton, "Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia (Part II)," pp. 97–123; Ann K. Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History, 11th–14th Century* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1988), pp. 335–343; Aigle, *La Fārs Sous la Domination Mongole*, pp. 147–153; Ralph Kauz, "The Maritime Trade of Kīsh during the Mongol Period," *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 51–67. Eric Vallet, "Yemeni 'Oceanic Policy' at the end of the 13th Century," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, 36 (2007): pp. 289–296; Yajima Hikoichi, "Mongoru teikoku jidai no Indoyō bōeki: toku ni Kish shōnin bōeki katsudō wo megutte," *Tōyō gakuhō*, 57 (1976): pp. 1–39. See also Jean Aubin, "Les princes d'Ormuz du XIII au XV siècle," *Journal Asiatique* (1953), pp. 77–137.

6 Scholars have paid special attention to the maritime trade families and *ortoq* groups which were active in Yuan Dynasty. For the main works see: Chen Gaohua and Wu Tai, *Song-Yuan shiqi de haiwai maoyi* (Tianjin: Tianjin People's Press, 1981); Chen Gaohua, "Yuandai de haiwai maoyi," *Lishi yanjiu*, 6, no. 3 (1978): pp. 61–69; Gao Rongsheng, *Yuandai haiwai maoyi yanjiu* (Chengdu: Sichuan People's Press, 1998); and Yasuhiro Yokkaichi, "Chinese and Muslim Diasporas and the India Ocean Trade Network under Mongol Hegemony," *The East Asian Mediterranean: Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), pp. 73–97.

7 Waṣṣāf/Bombay.

8 Waṣṣāf/Nuruosmaniye.

9 Waṣṣāf/Nejād.

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and some early manuscripts collected by Library of Tehran University and Library of Iran Parliament.[10]

Based on above introduction, my paper will focus on these two parts: the rise of al-Ṭībī's family and the reconsideration of Fakhr al-Dīn's trip.

2 The Rise of al-Ṭībī's Family

The island of Kīsh, a major emporium in the Persian Gulf during the medieval era, was within the jurisdiction of Fārs province. Geographically, Fārs is located in middle south of Iran, and can be divided into three parts: the mainland, the coast and the gulf. Kīsh, centered in the gulf area, is the pivot of Indo-Persian maritime trade network; on the coast, the caravan route connected it with Shīrāz, the capital of Fārs province.[11] Since earthquakes struck Sīrāf, which was the most important trading port in Persian Gulf during the seventh to tenth century, commerce shifted from Sīrāf to Kīsh on a large scale.[12] The main product of Kīsh was large-scale pearl fishing, which enjoyed equal popularity with that of Baḥraīn, Maʿbar and Ceylon.[13] The booming pearl industry at the above places was also mentioned by Chinese authors in the Song and Yuan dynasties.

Fakhr al-Dīn, the ambassador of Ghazan, was the eldest son of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibrahīm al-Ṭībī (or, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Sawāmilī, d. 1306, al-Ṭībī in Arabic is also read as al-Ṭaybī). His father was regarded as "the first hegemon of Kīsh" (*avval mulūk-i Qays*).[14] Surprisingly, the origin and early experience of Jamāl al-Dīn is only mentioned by Mamluk historians, such as al-Yūnīnī (1242–1326),

10 A. MS. Tehran University, No. 113; B. MS. Tehran University, No. 228; C. MS. Kitāb-i Khāna-yi Majlis, No. 8621.

11 Watabe, "Iruhanchō no chihō tōchi: Fārusu chihō gyōsei wo jirei toshite," p. 190.

12 Ḥamd Allāh Qazvīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Guy Le Strange (Leiden and London: Brill and Luzac & Co., 1919), p. 116.

13 Muḥmmad ibn Abī al-Barakāt Juharī Nayshābūrī, *Javāhir nāma-yi niẓāmī* (written in 592/1195–6), ed. Iraj Afshār (Tehran: Mīrāṣ-i Maktūb, 2004), pp. 153–154. Yūsuf ibn Yaʿqūb Ibn al-Mujāwir, *A Traveller in Thirteenth-Century Arabia: Ibn al-Mujāwir's Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, trans. Gerald Rex Smith (London: Ashgate, 2008), p. 286. ʿAbū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh Qāshānī, *ʿArāyis al-javāhir va nafāyis al-ʿaṭāyib*, ed. Īrāj Afshār (Tehran: Intashārāt al-ʿMaʿī, 2007), p. 84.

14 Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Shabānkāra'ī, *Majmaʿ al-ansāb*, Mūze va Kitābkhāna-yi Malik, MS. No. 6181; *Majmaʿ al-ansāb*, MS. Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, No. 14325; Aubin, "Les princes d'Ormuz du XIII au XV siècle," p. 131, *Majmaʿ al-ansāb*/Ms. Malik, f. 89a.

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al-Dhahabī (1274–1348), al-Ṣafadī (1297–1363) and al-ʿAsqalānī (1372–1449) etc.[15] Among them, al-Yūnīnī's report is unique but fragmentary, only relating his experience in Abaqa's court. Al-Dhahabī, al-Ṣafadī and al-ʿAsqalānī shared the same source to a certain extent; meanwhile, every one added some new information in his own edition. According to al-Dhahabī's report, he said:

> His [viz. Jamāl al-Dīn's] grandfather had migrated from Ṭaiyib to Wāsiṭ; when al-Ṭaiyib was wiped out, he moved to Wāsiṭ and served the al-Sawāmilī [tribe]. Then, his son [viz. Jamāl al-Dīn's father][16] moved to Baghdad during the reign of the caliph al-Nāṣir (1130–1225), and he got married and Jamāl al-Dīn was born to him. Then al-Jamāl learned how to drill the pearls and became proficient in this art.

He gathered the properties and came to Wāsiṭ, where he accompanied al-Fārūthī, who transmitted from him that he said: "My brother and I once sailed in the Indian Ocean and we were missing [on this journey] and didn't come back until we made a fortune. Then we traveled to al-Zanj, then to China (*al-Ṣīn*) and North China (*al-Khaṭa'*), and my brother settled in Maʿbar and he served there as wazir for its ruler."[17] Ṭaiyib (also named Baladat al-Ṭaiyib), was a town in Madīna, and the city of Wāsiṭ, according to Qazwīnī's geographical work, it is located between Kūfa and Baṣra.[18] It was originally built by Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf in 84–86 H/703–705 and had been conquered and plundered when Mongols captured Baghdād.[19]

We can tell from the story that Jamāl al-Dīn's family was Arab and its prosperity was closely connected to Baghdād's pearl trade.[20] Relying on the local

15 Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsā Ibn Muḥmmad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhail miʿrāt al-zamān fī tārīkh al-aʿyān: 697–711H.*, ed. Hamzah Aḥmad ʿAbbās (Beirut: Hayʿat Abū Ẓaby lil-Thaqāfah, wa al-Turāth, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 1150–1151; al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad Ibn-Aḥmad, *Ta'rīkh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa al-aʿlām*, ed. Tadmurī, ʿUmar ʿAbd-as-Salām (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1997), vol. 61, p. 71; Khalīl Ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr wa aʿwān al-naṣr*, ed. ʿAlī ʿAbū Zayd (Dimashq: Dār al-Fikr bi-Dimashq, 1998), vol. 1, p. 119; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʿah al-thāminah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 59–60, No. 159.

16 The name of Jamāl al-Dīn's father was not mentioned by al-Dhahabī. But according to al-ʿAsqalānī's work, we know his name is Muḥammad. In additional, al-Yūnīnī said that his father was a pottery trader. *Dhail miʿrāt al-zamān*, vol. 2, p. 1150.

17 al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, vol. 61, p. 71.

18 Abū ʿAbdullāh b. Zakrriyā al-Qazwīnī, *Āsār al-balād va akhbār al-ʿabād*, trans. Muḥmmad Murad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1994), vol. 2, p. 283.

19 Krawulsky, *Īrān Das Reich der Īlḫāne*, p. 511.

20 Elizabeth Lambourn also mentioned Jamāl al-Dīn's Arabic origin, see Elizabeth Lambourn, "India from Aden: Khuṭba and Muslin Urban Networks in Later Thirteenth-Century

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resources, Jamāl al-Dīn gradually expanded his industry and later became "the leader of merchants" (*raʿīs al-tujjrā*).[21] Mamluk historians also implied that he actively participated in the maritime trade with China, but no written evidence indicates that he had ever visited China. With the thriving commerce, Jamāl al-Dīn acquired a feudatory at Iraq;[22] from the 1260s to the 1270s, he served as the Night Watch Officer of Isfahan bazaar and worked under Bahā al-Dīn Juwaynī.[23] Then, with the recommendation of Juwaynī, then the Ilkhan's chief *wazīr*, he served Abaqa as his royal merchant (*biḍāʿat min khawāṣṣ*).[24] Meanwhile, the territory of Ilkhanate had expanded to most parts of south Iran. During the reign of Ögödei (r. 1229–1241), the Atabeg of Shīrāz contacted the imperial households for submission.[25] After Hülegü's western expedition, the successive Atabegs all visited the *ordo* to have an audience with the Ilkhans.[26] As usual, Hülegü appointed a Mongols or Turk *shāḥna* and secretary (*bītikchī*) to every province.[27] Hence, the administration system of Fārs can be generalized as follows:

– Mongolian *amīr* and officials (*hukm*) sent by the central authority
– Local governor (*malik*)
– Local merchants (*urtāq*)

All these three categories combined and formed a compound structure.

Located on the main artery of inland transportation and exchanging trade extensively with the outside world through the maritime route, Fārs played an important role in economy. According to the research of Watabe Ryōko 渡部良子, based on the geographical works (e.g. *Nuzhat al-qulūb*), the annual

India," in *Secondary Cities & Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c. 1400–1800*, ed. Kenneth R. Hall (New York: Lexington Books, 2008), p. 62, n. 23.

21 *Shadarāt al-dhahab*, vol. 8, p. 26; Aigle, *La Fārs Sous la Domination Mongole*, p. 143.

22 *al-Durar al-kāminah*, p. 60.

23 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 62.

24 al-Yūnīnī, *Dhail miʿrāt al-zamān*, vol. 2, p. 1150.

25 Xu Youren, "Xiyu shizhe Hazhi haxin zhuan" in *Zhizheng ji*, Vol. 53, p. 642a. The relevant report can be found in a Persian poetic historical work, see Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *Ẓafarnāma*, vol. 6 (Tehran: Pazhuhishgāh-i ʿUlūm-i Insānī va Mutāliʿāt-i Farhangī, 2011), p. 336.

26 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 180–185; Ibn Zakūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Vāʾiẓ Javādī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Buniyād-i Farhangī, 1971), pp. 86, 88.

27 At first, Hülegü sent Aghil Bik and Qutlugh *bitikchī* to the locality. After the brother of Atabeg of Fārs was accused of rebellion, Hülegü dispatched the troop, under the leadership of amir Altachū and Timūr to crush it. Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 175; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (Shahāb al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh Khvāfī), *Jughrāfiyā-yi Ḥāfiẓ Abrū*, ed. Ṣādeq Sajjād (Tehran, Āyīna-yi Mīrāṭ, 1999), vol. 2, p. 171. Altachū's name also mentioned by *Shuʿab-i panjgāna*. He was appointed as "the governor of all the *īnjū*" during the reign of Abaqa. *Shuʿab-i panjgāna* (İstanbul: Topkapı-Sarayı Müzesi kütüphanesi), MS. Ahmet III 2937, f. 143a.

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revenue of Fārs ranked third among all 14 provinces of Ilkhanate,[28] the majority of which came from the income of Indo-Persia maritime trade. The Ilkhan himself was attracted by the huge profit of this region likewise. Around 1284, Sultan Aḥmad confiscated the farmland and orchards previously belonged to the Atabeg of Fārs, and then transferred them to properties of the Ilkhan's in the name of *īnjū*.[29] After Aḥmad's execution, these properties were transferred to Arghun's family. When Ghazan was fighting against Bāydū for the throne, the latter suggested offering the tents of Arghun's wives, and half of the territory of Fārs as well as all the *īnjū* lands in exchange for Ghazan's submission.[30] This indicated the privileges of the Arghun's in local place.

The Ilkhans usually entrusted the local officials to manage his feudal land in South Iran, which provided opportunities for the rise of Jamāl al-Dīn. On one hand, Jamāl al-Dīn was involved in the trades of Persian Gulf, on the other hand, he took both roles as the agent of Ilkhan locally and as the *ortoq* merchant of imperial households at the same time. In 692 H/1292–3, Gaikhatu bestowed him a title as *Malik al-Islām* as a reward for his effort in "raising funds."[31] Shortly after that, he was appointed to be the governor (*malik*) of Shīrāz.[32]

Gaikhatu was murdered by his amirs, and Baidu, his cousin, usurped the throne. Jamāl al-Dīn retained his position at Shīrāz.[33] Soon Ghazan, son of Arghun led the opposition to Baidu at Khurāsān. Once Ghazan ascended the throne in 1295, Jamāl al-Dīn was first chosen as the colleague of a Mongolian amir, Hurqadāq, and then Sādāq in 695 H/1295–6. Both of them were the *shāḥna* of Fārs. In 695 H/1295–6, he served as the officer who was in charge of the finance as well as the import and export trades in Fārs, and he once became the vice-viceroy of Baghdād.[34]

With the rise in political status, the relationship between al-Ṭībī's family and other powerful hegemons in Persian Gulf started to become tension. One of them was Maḥmūd Qalhātī's family, who ruled Hormuz (viz. the old Hormuz, now located in Mīnāb) and monopolized the Persian-Indian Ocean trade for

28 Watabe, "Iruhanchō no chihō tōchi: Fārusu chihō gyōsei wo jirei toshite," p. 190.

29 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 298.

30 RD/RM, vol. 2, p. 1249.

31 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 298.

32 Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim Junayd Shīrazī, *Shadd al-izar fī ḥaṭṭ al-auzār ʿan zawwār al-mazār*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, ʿAbbās Iqbāl (Tehran: Ibn Sīnā, 1949), p. 342. The *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* does not mention him by name, but only refers to him as one of the "*urtāqān va bāzargān*" (*ortaq*s and merchants). RD/RM, vol. 2, p. 937.

33 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 284.

34 Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Aḥmad al-Shaybānī [Ibn al-Fūwaṭī], *al-Ḥawādith al-Jāmiʿa*, trans. ʿAbdu-l-Muḥammad Āyatī (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 2002), p. 300.

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a long time. During the reign of Maḥmūd, his family had monopolized most passing ships at Persian Gulf. The most obvious evidence is that Marco Polo visited Hormuz in 1272, while waiting for a sea-worthy ship to China. He detailed the custom of Hormuz in *The Description of the World* twice. Moreover, he also mentioned the contemporary hegemon, naming him Ruomedam Ahomet (Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd).[35] In contrast, he rarely mentioned Kīsh Island, which indicated that for foreigners, Hormuz still was the primary choice to voyage to East in this era.

Nevertheless, it indicates that the competing strategies of two families are different. Al-Ṭībī's family tended to cooperate with Mongol amirs who were dispatched to south Iran, adjusting their loyalty to new ruling imperial family. In return, al-Ṭībī's family constantly received their support from politics. On the contrary, the Qalhātī seemed to put more focus on their local interests and inclined to keep their autonomy. They kept distance from the Mongols and sought support from local authorities, e.g. the Qara Khitai family of Kirmān, or the Atabeg of Lur. The conquest of Mongols changed the local political structure in Iran, thus, it seems that Qalhātī family had from the very beginning not quite grasped the rules of the game with their new "lord."[36]

In 672 H/1272–3, Maḥmūd Qalhātī invaded Kīsh and Qalhātī, but the Mongols drove him out. Amir Sunjāq, with the Mongol army, "rescued the emporium of Kīsh from the intrusion of strangers."[37] Taking advantage of this, Jamāl al-Dīn replaced the Qalhātī family in the politics and economy of the Persian Gulf. He entered into an alliance with Bahāʿ al-Dīn Ayāz, a Turkish general who rebelled against the Qalhātī's. In return, Bahāʿ al-Dīn Ayāz acknowledged the supremacy of Jamāl al-Dīn's eldest son Fakhr al-Dīn, and declared his title "*Malik-i muʿẓam*" in the *khuṭba*.[38]

Since replacing the Qalhātī family, Kīsh became the only maritime trade center of the Persian Gulf area. Consequently, al-Ṭībī's family became the most important maritime trade family in the Ilkhanate. According to Ḥāfez Abrū,

35 MP/Moule-Pelliot, §37, p. 123; Pedro Teixeira, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira, with his "Kings of Harmuz" and Extracts from his "Kings of Persia,"* trans. William F. Sinclair, ed. Donald Ferguson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1902), pp. 158–159.

36 See Lowick, "Trade Patterns on the Persian Gulf in the Light of Recent Coin Evidence," p. 258. The only case that Sayf al-Dīn issued coin with the title (*laqāb*) of Sultan Aḥmad in AH 681 and AH 683, but this failed political opportunism let him lost Arghun's favor in subsequent years. The coins see: Ömer Diler, *Ilkhanids: Coinage of the Persian Mongols*, Istanbul: Turkuaz Kitapçılık, 2006, p. 293.

37 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 194, *Shīrāz-nāma*, p. 90.

38 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 297–298.

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"in its prime time, Jamāl al-Dīn owned almost 100 ships sailing ceaselessly on the sea of Fārs."[39]

His cousin, named Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭībī, was *wazīr* of Maʿbar at AH 692 (AD 1292–3).[40] With Kīsh as the next stop of sailing to the West from the coast of India, Jamāl al-Dīn gained huge profits from this trading network. According to Rashīd al-Dīn's work, at the emporium of Kīsh, without the permission of the agents of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibrahim, all the goods could not be dealt with by expected customers.[41] Finally, under the rule of Jamāl al-Dīn, Kīsh became the pivot of a maritime trading network, which included China, Indian, the Persian Gulf and Yemen.

3 Reexamination of Fakhr al-Dīn's Trip

3.1 *On Fakhr al-Dīn's Trip to East*

Ghazan defeated his rivals and ascended the throne in 1295. Meanwhile, the khanate had undergone a serious economic regression and financial crisis caused by long-term civil war. As Petrushevsky indicated, in the reign of Ghazan the annual revenue of Fārs, which was one of the most affluent districts of Iran, was only one third of that in Seljuq period. The remedies taken by Ghazan included a series of reforms, such as a new approach for levying the land tax, fixing a precise sum for particular areas, abolishing or cutting the impost on trades and crafts, etc.[42] He also paid attention to Jamāl al-Dīn, the collector of *muqāṭaʿa* (a fix sum of revenue of district) of Fārs.[43]

In 697 H/1297–8, Jamāl al-Dīn, accompanied by his eldest son Fakhr al-Dīn, visited Ghazan in his *ordo*, at Tabrīz. He submitted the income and account books for two years to Ghazan, trying to win his favor. Jamāl al-Dīn's competitor, Ṣadr al-Dīn, who had been against him all the time, was executed on Ghazan's order.[44] Jamāl al-Dīn stayed at the side of Ghazan for two years, till he apparently received new revenue for Kīsh from the beginning of 698 H/1298

39 *Jughrāfiyā-yi Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū*, vol. 2, p. 194.

40 His name also mentioned in the *Yuan shi*, as Taxi 塔喜. In 1297 AD, Temür Qa'an "bestowed on Taxi, [ruler] of Maʿbar country, a tiger tablet decorated with double pearls." (馬八兒國塔喜二珠虎符), see *Yuan shi*, vol. 19, p. 419.

41 Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓl Allāh Hamadānī, *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh: Tārīkh-i Hind va Sind va Kishmīr*, ed. Muḥammad Rawshān (Tehran: Mīrās Maktūb, 2005), p. 40.

42 J. P. Petrushevsky, *CHI*, vol. 5, ed. John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 494–498.

43 On the term of *muqāṭaʿa*, see Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia*, pp. 204–220, 359.

44 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 335, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*/Rawshān, vol. 2, p. 1273.

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for 4 years, totaling 70 *tūmāns*.[45] Meanwhile, his son Fakhr al-Dīn was sent to China as an ambassador of Ghazan. Matsuda Kōichi 松田孝一 believes that this mission indicated not only the Ghazan's expectation of high profits from trading with Yuan Empire, but also his hopes for recovering Hülegü's domain in China.[46]

At the same time, south Iran and the coast regions of Persian Gulf confronted the continuous invasions by Chaghatayid troops. Ghāzān's main focus was the western border of Khanate, therefore, Khurāsān had been the target of aggression for the princes of Chaghadai and Ögödei. The most serious threat came from Qutlugh-Khwāja (Qutlugh Qocha), the second eldest son of Du'a. Since 697 H/1297–8, the Negüderi army had been under the command of him, which was mentioned in Persian resource as the "great hordes of Turks." He arrived and conquered the coast area of Persian Gulf via Kirmān.[47]

During this period, the traditional trade route, which started from Iran and took the land road crossing Central Asia (e.g. the route that Marco Polo had experienced), became more dangerous. Indeed, the overland route between Ilkhanate and Yuan was cut off. As a countermeasure, the maritime exchange among them became more active. In such a situation, Fakhr al-Dīn's expedition was a case that demonstrated that down to the beginning of the fourteenth century, via the maritime route, these two Chinggisid lines remained in direct contact and maintained a stable alliance.

According the *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*:

> By the order of Ghāzān Khan, the justice-dealing ruler, *Malik-i muʿẓam*[48] Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad was appointed as ambassador to Temür Qa'an in the year AH 697 (AD 1297–8). He was accompanied by Noqai *ilchi* ["envoy"], who carried Ghāzān's oral instruction, jewels, costly garments with the royal patterns, deer-hunting leopards, and many other treasures and wares as the tribute which were worthy of his royal acceptance, and fitted for his glorious palace. Then, [under Ghāzān's command] 10 *tūmān* of gold were given to him [Fakhr al-Dīn] from the chief treasury, which were combined with the tribute mentioned above, to be employed as the

45 Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim Junayd Shīrazī, *Shadd al-izar fī ḥaṭṭ al-auzār ʿan zawwār al-mazār*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī and ʿAbbās Iqbāl (Tehran: Chāpkhāna-i Majlas, 1949), p. 342; Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia*, p. 340.

46 Matsuda Kōichi 松田孝一, "Huragu ka no tōhō ryō フラグ家の東方領," *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究, 39 (1980): pp. 35–62.

47 *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, pp. 160–161, Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 368–371, also see Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, p. 125. Also, Timothy May's chapter in this volume.

48 In Bombay version, word *muʿẓam* was omitted.

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> capital in trade. *Malik* Fakhr al-Dīn supplied the ships (*jahāzat*) and *jūnk* for this voyage, and other commodities suited to [Temür Qa'an], which belonged to *Shaykh-i Islam* Jamāl al-Dīn, and to his friends and relations. He also recruited an army, which consisted of the Persians and Turks. All of them were the experienced sailors, expert archers ……. The actual distance of the voyage was much augmented by the constant dangers to which their lives and property were exposed on the sea.

Several comments are called for. To begin with, as usual, the exotic animals occupied a prominent place on the list of gifts. They included lions, tigers, eagles and leopards, which were destined to enrich the royal hunting park. The embassies from the Ilkhanate and Chaghatayid courts were the main suppliers of these animals to Yuan Court.[49]

Also, as per the detailed record of Waṣṣāf, "10 *tūmān* of gold" was supplied by Ghazan as the capital of trading, which indicated that the main function of Fakhr al-Dīn's embassy was not only ceremonial, but had an economic aim as well. It means that the Ilkhan appointed the merchant as the *ortoq* of royal household, with official funds, to conduct maritime trade. This mode was similar to the official institution of *ortoq* in Yuan Empire, and as Chinese documents record, 70 percent of the profit was owned by government, while 30 percent by merchant.[50] In this way, the Qa'an (Ilkhan also) could prevent other peoples (e.g. the aristocrats, or local nobles) from sharing the interest of oversea trade.

Furthermore, in Waṣṣāf's report, there are two different terms to describe the ships that Fakhr al-Dīn's embassy had taken: *jahāzāt* (or *jahāzat-i khāṣṣ*) and *jūng*. As I see it, *jahāzat* definitely referred to private ships of Ṭībī's family. Moreover, these ships probably were built in local style of Persian Gulf. According to contemporary authors" narrative, e.g. Marco Polo and Wang Dayuan 汪大淵, these ships were described as following:

> They have no iron of which to make nails and so they make pins of wood with which they nail their ships, and then sewing of that aforesaid thread ……. And for this reason it is great danger to sail in those ships,

49 Allsen, *Culture And Conquest Mongol Eurasia*, p. 43; Biran, "Diplomacy and Chancellery Practices in the Chaghataid Khanate: Some Preliminary Remarks," *OM*, 88 (2008): p. 382.

50 Gao Rongsheng, *Yuandai haiwai maoyi yanjiu*, pp. 5–8.

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> and I tell you that they sink many of them because the sea of Indie is very terrible and of often makes great storms.[51]

As for the *jūng*, this term used by medieval Persian-Arabic author to call a larger vessel for transoceanic voyage particularly. It is a loanword from Chinese *zong* 艐. Rashīd al-Dīn mentioned it in his agronomic encyclopedia *Āsār va Aḫyā*, saying that in *Khitay* and *Manjī* people built this kind of vessel with wood of pine (*ṣanūbar*, in Chinese: *sūnk-muq*; cf. Mandarin *songmu* 松木) and cherry bay (*kūy sī*; cf. Mandarin *guishu* 桂树).[52] In this paragraph, the *jūngs* were most likely the official ships funded and equipped by the Ilkhan. This approach is very similar to the system of Governmental Ship (*guanben chuan*, 官本船) in Yuan Empire. Fakhr al-Dīn's fleet included a special troop comprised by Turkish and Persian soldiers. The same situation was also recorded in Chinese chronicle, since 1272, under the order of Qubilai, *Yiheimishi* 亦黑迷失, < Turk. *Yïghmïsh)'s embassy was sent to Sri-Lanka and Ma'bar several times, his fleet was described in Chinese document as "a specially organized navy."[53]

The year before Farkhr al-Dīn set off (1297), his uncle, Taqī al-Dīn was honored with the bestowal of a tiger-tablet *hu-fu*, 虎符 by the Yuan Court.[54] This action assured al-Ṭībī's privilege and promoted the growth of trade between Yuan and Ilkhanate in subsequent decades.

Fakhr al-Dīn raised capital from his relatives and friends. Thus, latter peoples invested capital and Fakhr al-Dīn traded with it. This form of commercial association called *commenda*, in Arabic *muḍāraba*, which was prevalent in medieval Islamic trade. In this way, they shared the profits in an agreed upon ratio, and that any loss resulting from normal trading activity was borne by the investing party.[55]

On the envoy accompanied by Fakhr al-Dīn, Nuqāy, his name was mentioned several times in Bombay version but was misspelled as "*Tuqāy*." Similarly, this

51 MP/Moule-Pelliot, Ch. 37, p. 124; also see Wang Dayuan, *Daoyi zhilue jiaoshi*, ed. Su Jiqing (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), p. 364, under *Ganmaili* 甘埋里. Some scholars believe that *Gamaili* refers to Hormuz indeed, yet it is hard to identify.

52 Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī, *Āsār va Aḫyā*, ed. M. Sutūda and Ī. Afshār (Teheran: McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies, Tehran Branch, 1989), pp. 78, 92. For a more detailed discussion see Qiu Yihao, "Zong (*Jūng*) chuan kao: 13 zhi 15 shiji Xifang wenxian zhong suojian zhi '*Jūng*,'" *Guoji hanxue yanjiu tongxun*, 5 (2012): pp. 329–338.

53 See Chen Dezhi, "Cong Yiheimishi shenfen kan Make Boluo: 'Yibai dasi kan jing ji' bei beijing jiedu," *Meng-Yuan shi yu Zhonghua duoyuan wenha lunji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji Press, 2013), p. 123.

54 *YS* 19, p. 412.

55 See Abraham L. Udovitch, "Credit as a Means of Investment in Medieval Islamic Trade," *JAOS*, 87 (1967): p. 261, n. 12.

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error continued in Elliot's and Etani Toshiyuki's 惠谷俊之 translations.[56] But in several earlier manuscripts (see Table 5.1), we can clearly distinguish that his name should be Nuqāy (or Nūqāy < Mong. *Noqai*). We can be assured that he is the same person mentioned in the biography of Yang Shu 楊樞, written by Huang Jin 黃溍:

> In Dade 5 (1301), when he was nineteen, the Bureau for Procurement of Necessities (*zhi yong yuan* 致用院) sent him to sail on a Governmental Ship (*guan ben chuan* 官本船). Reaching the Western Ocean (*Xi yang* 西洋) [i.e. Maʿbar], he met the envoys Nahuai and others whom were dispatched by Imperial Prince Hezan [Ghāzān] to the Capital [of China], and finally boarded them and came back [to China].[57]

There is no other information on Nuqāy in Persian chronicles besides here, but customarily, the Ilkhans appointed local official from the provinces of South Persia as their envoys to Yuan Court. During reign of Qubilai, Abaqa sent Vangyanū (< Ch. *Wanjianu*, 万家奴), the former local governor (*shiḥna*) to China.[58] Yāghmīsh, the governor of Iṣfahān in Ghazan's period, was sent by Öljeitü, Ghazan's successor, to the Court of Temür Qa'an for declaring the general peace agreement.[59] According to these cases, it can probably be inferred that Nuqāy should be a local governor in Iran.

In this trip, Fakhr al-Dīn served as the *nökör* of an official envoy (*elchi*). Normally, the official envoys were Mongolian or Turk origin. In Marco Polo's case, Arghun's envoys, named by Marco as *barcon*, were Oulatai (in Chinese *Wuludai* 兀魯解), Apusca (in Chinese *Abishihe* 阿必失呵) and Coja (in Chinese *Huozhe* 火者).[60] Sultan Abū Saʿīd also let a Muslim person, Ḥasām

56 Waṣṣāf/Elliot, p. 45. Etani Toshiyuki, "Gazan-Han no tai Genchō shisetsu haken ni tsuite," p. 50.

57 大德五年，君年甫十九，致用院俾以官本船浮海至西洋，遇親王合贊所遣使臣那懷等如京師，遂載之以來. See Huang Jin, "Songjiang Jiading dengchu haiyun qianhu Yang jun muzhiming," in *Jinhua Huang xiansheng wenji* (Yuan-era blockprint), chapter 35, 15b–16a. For an English translation see Hyunhee Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds: Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-Modern Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 112.

58 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 193–194. On Vangyanū's name in Chinese documents, see Miya Noriko, "Azuma kara nishi e no tabibito: Jōtoku: Liu Yu 'Xishiji' yori", in Kubota Junpei, *Yūrashia chūō-iki no rekishi kōzu* (Tokyo: Research Institute for Humanity and Nature, 2010), pp. 175–180.

59 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 477, Waṣṣāf/Nejād, vol. 4, p. 187, *Tārīkh-i Ūljāytū*, p. 49.

60 MP/Moule-Pelliot, §18, p. 88, *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典, Jing shi da dian: zhan chi 〈經世大典•站赤〉, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), vol. 19418, p. 7211.

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al-Dīn, serve as a *nökör* accompanying Chūlchīn Bahādur on his visit to the Qa'an.[61]

Fakhr al-Dīn met Yang Shu on the coast of Maʿbar. This fact was omitted by Waṣṣāf, but it occurred without a doubt as documented by Yang Shu's biography. We are not given the exact time of their meeting, which hence needs to be explored. As we know, Yang Shu started his voyage in 1301, from Ganpu 澉浦, a famous port near Hangzhou 杭州. According to the contemporary author's report, it took nearly 2 years for a round trip, and even the single trip took more than one year. Much detailed information is supplied by Chinese texts, e.g. Qing Jun 清浚, a monk of the later Yuan Dynasty, who wrote in the comment of *Circular Map of Regions and Terrains* (*Guanlun jiangli tu* 廣輪疆里圖) that, "setting off from Quanzhou by ship, it takes 60 days to reach Java, nearly 120 days to reach Maʿbar, and more than 200 days to reach Hormuz" (自泉州風帆，六十日至爪哇，百二十八日至馬八 兒，二百餘日至忽魯沒思);[62] and Xiong Taigu 熊太古 said, "The vessel of *Guangzhou* sets sail at *Hutou Men*, and round trip to Western Ocean take 2 years [because of] the distance."[63] According to the above discussion, I conclude that the date of meeting should be around 1302, which means that Fakhr al-Dīn's embassy boarding with Yang Shu's ships arrived China in 1303.

Moreover, another interesting conclusion can be drawn. Although there was very little change in the shipping route between China and Persian Gulf compared with those during the Tang Dynasty (618–907), the sailors preferred to choose a midway port to transfer the goods, rather than sail direct. The main reason of this approach is economic. Influenced by the monsoon above Indian Ocean, it was difficult for the sailors to accurately predict the voyage schedule. If they chose a transfer station, however, such as Maʿbar, the ships coming from China could meet with the "horse trade ships" (in Chinese, *ma chuan*, 馬船) from Persian Gulf and do business with them in there.[64] In that way, they could avoid missing the western monsoon in September while coming back to China. So, this mode prevailed down to the thirteenth century within the cross-Indian Ocean trade network.

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61 Tavakkulī Ibn-Ismāʿīl al-Ardabīlī Ibn-Baẓẓāz, *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā: dar tarjuma-i aḥvāl va aqvāl va karāmāt-i Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Isḥāq Ardabīlī* (Tabrīz: Ṭabāṭabāʾī Majd, 1994), p. 339.

62 Chen Jiarong, "Qingjun Yuan tu jilu Quanzhou dui Yisilan diqu de jiaoliu," *Haijiao shi yanjiu* 2, no. 1 (2009), p. 30.

63 廣州舶船 出虎頭門 ..... 西洋差遠，兩歲一回. See Xiong Taigu, "Guangzhou chuanbo," in *Ji-Yue jiji*, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1996), *Zibu* 子部, vol. 239, p. 294.

64 MP/Moule-Pelliot, Ch. 37, p. 124, Wang, *Daoyi zhilue*, p. 321, under *Xiaojunan* 小唄喃; Eric Vallet, "Yemeni 'Oceanic Policy' at the End of the 13th Century," p. 295.

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The last uncertain point is, why did the other contemporary voyagers (e.g. Marco Polo, Yeheimishi, or Odoric) only spent two to three years on the route but Fakhr al-Dīn took more than 5 years? One possible answer is, during 1297–1302, the invasion of a Chaghatayid army affected the social and economic environment of Persian Gulf area (see above). Due to the economic decline, Fakhr al-Dīn must have spent more time on raising funds. Another reason would be that in 702 H/1303, former *wazīr* of Maʿbar, Taqī al-Dīn died. His huge inheritance caused conflict between al-Ṭībī's family and the ruler of Maʿbar. Finally, after some negotiations with the ruler of Maʿbar, al-Ṭībī's family agreed to pay 200,000 dinar to the latter, in return for which they agreed to allow another son of Jamāl al-Dīn, Sirāj al-Dīn, to take his uncle's position. This affair happened during Fakhr al-Dīn's stay in there. As the representative of the whole family, he had to change his schedule to mediate settlement.[65]

3.2 *Fakhr al-Dīn's Experience in China*

Waṣṣāf's record on Fakhr al-Dīn's experience in China gives us a more concrete view on the later period of Temür's reign. Especially his narrative about the diplomatic and commercial activities, which occurred on the royal Court of Qa'an provides us a unique perspective from which to study this period.

Waṣṣāf writes:

> When, at last, they arrived at the border of China, according to the *Yasa* of Qa'an, the officials and guards (*nuvāb va qarāvulān*) provided accommodations and food for them stage by stage. They [paid] the "escort fee" (*bāj va rasm-i qarāvulī*) to avoid being disturbed on the way.[66]
>
> In this manner, the embassy reached the Khan-baligh, near the Ṭāydū.[67] They entered the circinate, solemn *Ordu*. But this time, Temür Qa'an was indisposed, thus, the servants took the rare, glorious tributes to the palace

65 Waṣṣāf/Nejād, p. 256, Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 505, *Shadd al-izar*, p. 547. His name was alson mentioned as "Khvāja Taqī," see Ḍiyāʿ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, ed. Siyid Aḥmad Khān (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1860–2), pp. 398–9. In the *Yuan shi*, it reported that the ruler of Maʿbar 馬八兒國主, named *Xilamuding* 昔剌木丁 sent his enovy ʿIzz al-Dīn 愛思丁 to present local rarities as tribute to the Yuan Court in 1314. See *Yuan shi* §25, p. 564. I believe that *Xilamuding* is just a misspelling of *Xilajuding* 昔剌朮丁, which is the transliteration of Sirāj al-Dīn in Chinese characters.

66 In Elliot's translation, this sentence was translated as: "[they] were not troubled for the payment of any duties."

67 Here, Waṣṣāf made the same mistake as Rashīd al-Dīn, who assumed falsely that Ṭāydū and Khān-balīgh were two different places. This was influenced by the report of *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, which confused Khān-balīgh with *Jūng-dū*, the former capital of Jin Dynasty,

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(*pīshgāh-i qarshī*).[68] Arāhasūn-tarkhān *Chingsang*,[69] *Tūghāchī *ṭāyfū*[70] and other nobles were present in the assembly and sat beyond the royal carpet on golden seats, with great pomp and dignity. Nuqāy, on his first introduction, walked forward, then knelt[71] and considered a *salām* sufficient with Turkish ritual. Nuqāy, who was a shrewd and eloquent Turk, replied, "It is the royal order, that until I behold the blessed countenance of the Qa'an, the very abstract of the book of prosperity, I should not look upon any pillars of the state or nobles of his majesty." They were then admitted to a personal interview, Fakhr al-Dīn presented Ghāzān's oral decree (*bīlāk-hā*) firstly, and the rarities also was brought forward and approved. All the tributes and gifts were most graciously received. [Temür] Qa'an then presented a cup of wine with his royal hand, … and issued orders that the ambassadors, during their stay, should be furnished with residences, food, clothes, and servants appropriate to the four seasons; and forty-five horses were placed at their disposal (*ulāgh-i iṭlāq*).

ʿAysha *pīnjān* was a Christian; therefore, there was the lack of justice in his nature. He had indoctrinated Qa'an such idea: "That the *ortaq* and merchants from all over the world collect rare jewels and other exotic goods from remote countries is all for the sake of their own profit; octagonal pearls (*durr-i tasmīn*) are the primary cause of the fault." According of this, he called for a complete ban to prohibit payment for these luxury

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and regarded Ṭāydū (or Dāydū), the city which was built on the northeastern side of *Jūng-dū* as another city; see RD/RM, vol. 2, p. 901.

68 On the etymology of *qarshī*, see Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen,* vol. 3, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963–75), pp. 442–43. Waṣṣāf described Qa'an's *qarshī* in volume one, see Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 23.

69 His name was also spelt as Harqasun, which was equivalent to *Halahasun* 哈剌和孙 in Chinese resource. "Tarqan" is his personal honor title succeeded from his ancestor. It is said that Chinggis Khan bestowed his ancestor Kisiliq (啟昔禮 or 乞失里黑) this title, because he warned Chinggis Khan before Ong-khan raided them. See *Secret History of Mongols*, tr. Yu Dajun (Shijiazhuang: Hebei People's Press, 2011), ch. 169, pp. 238–239; also see *Yuan shi*, vol. 135, p. 2391. I would like to thank Professor Atwood for kindly reminding me of the correct spelling of Kisiliq's name and suggesting to take notice of the record in *Secret History of Mongols*. In this paragraph, the title "*tarqan*" is found in only the following two versions: Waṣṣāf/Nuruosmaniye, f. 188; Ms. Teheran University No. 113, f. 417.

70 His name usually was spelt as *Tūghchī* (توغچی, means "standard bearer") in Persian sources, but in Waṣṣāf/MS B, f. 419, it was also spelt as *Ṭūghājī* (means "cook"). Following the suggestion of Professor Atwood, comparison with Chinese transcriptions (viz. *Tuohuochi* 脫火赤, *Tuohuchi* 脫忽赤, or *Tuohechu* 脫禾出, etc.) shows that *Ṭūghājī* is more correct.

71 "then kneeled": In Elliot's translation, this sentence is translated as: "[Noqai] did not kneel down."

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> goods. Thus, it was not fitting since most of the goods of Malik Fakhr al-Dīn's were pearl, jewels, precious stone, etc. [They refused to purchase his goods] until Qa'an "indicated his intention" [Arabic phrase – trans.]. Thereupon, [Fakhr al-Dīn] asked for 14 *tūmān*, every *tūmān* was equivalent to 10,000 *bālīsh*, every *bālīsh* [*Chāv*] was equivalent to 8 *dīnār*s.[72] The chief treasury purchased them with the quoted price, and changed the price for the equivalent amount of *Chāv*. Then, Qa'an authorized to sell the remnant to anyone who wanted to buy.[73]

The first point worth discussing is "Escort Fee" (*bāj va rasm-i qarāvulī*). Waṣṣāf tells us that although the ambassador traveled with a decree and edict, and Fakhr al-Dīn was privileged to use the official post system (*jam*), he still could not be exempted from paying this fee. *Qarāvul* (Mong. *qara'ul*), in Doerfer's explanation, means "patrol, patrolling or guarding."[74] So, we may translate this term as "a special fee paid for protection of transit." In an official edict included in *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātib*, an Ilkhanate governmental archive by Nakhchivānī, which was collected and edited in the Jalayirid period (1336–1432) we also can find similar taxation. In a commission of road-guard (*dar tafvīẓ-i tutghāūlī va rāhdārī*), it mentioned:

> Command the officials, landlords and secretaries (*bitikchi*), they should know:
>
> [I] appointed Aytakīn the *tutghaulī* and tax collector (*bājdārī*), and his duty is to escort the caravans in dangerous places, and ensure their security to avoid being attacked by the bandits. He should collect the charge (*rasmī*) [from the caravans] according to the regulation of *Dīvān*, and give them appropriate voucher …[75]

From this commission, we can understand that in Ilkhanate, one of the duties of *tutghāūl* (road-guard) was to ensure the caravan's safety on the way. In return, he could charge them a fee of a fair amount. It was part of road-guard's (or post official's) duty on daily basis.

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72 The word "8" in Bombay version is "6." In the Nuruosmaniye Library MS, the scribe added a comment: "6 dīnār and 2 dāng" (*hasht dīnār va dū dāng*).

73 This whole paragraph was omitted in English and Japanese translation.

74 Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, vol. 1, pp. 399–404.

75 Muḥammad Nakhchivānī Hīndūshāh, *Dastūr al-Kātib fī Ta'īin al-Marātib*, ed. A. A. Ali-Zade, vol. 2 (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), pp. 167–168.

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And then, with the large number of Islamic merchants participating in *ortoq* system of the Yuan Empire, some such customary rules infiltrated into China. An edict fragment collected from *Yuan Code* (*yuan dianzhang*, 元典章) indicated its influence. In 1297, some local officials petitioned the Central Secretariat (*zhong shu sheng*, 中書省): a Muslim merchant called Mahmud (*Mahemou* 馬合謀) who took [Ilkhan's] decree, claimed that he should be exempt from paying any taxes when he stayed in China. In the reply of Central Secretariat, they rejected Mahmud's request, and claimed that the "*bāj-i badraqa* (*bachi bade'rha*), a tax for protection was the rule of *Hui-hui* country" (referring to Ilkhanate).[76] Thus, if *ortoq* merchants went to Ilkhanate, they could be exempt from taxing by Qa'an's decree, but once they came back to Yuan Empire, they should pay.[77] So, 6 years later, when Fakhr al-Dīn's embassy arrived in China, in spite of taking Ghazan's decree, he still was required to pay this tax. This detail demonstrates that since 1297, the Escort Fee had been imposed strictly by the local officials in China.

The embassy arrived Ṭāydū (Daidu) (viz. Beijing) in 1304. The exact date was confirmed by a Chinese source, the *Yuan shi*, which mentions that "Dade 8, VIII, the imperial prince *Hezan* [Ghāzān]) sent the embassy to tribute local rarities (*fang wu*) from western region."[78] Waṣṣāf also mentioned the prime ministers by the Qa'an's side. He told us two names of them: Arāhasūn-tarkhān *Chingsang* (Chinese: 哈剌和孫丞相答剌罕) and Tūghāchī *ṭāyfū* (Chinese: 脫火赤太傅). In the English and Japanese translations, their names were omitted. Furthermore, this information reveals a major political change happened shortly before.

In 1303, empress Buluqan (*Buluhan* 卜魯罕) launched a political purge. Nearly all the ministers served at Central Secretariat were convicted, and they were demoted then. The names of these convicted ministers, as listed by Waṣṣāf, included Bāyān, ʿAbdullah, Bātumasīn, Mīr-Khvāja, and others – a more detailed list is supplied by *Yuan shi*.[79] Unfortunately, the former prime minister was involved in it too, and soon died of fright. Arāhasūn replaced him. As for Tūghachī *ṭāyfū*, during the reign of Temür Qa'an, he mainly served as commander who guarded the frontier of Altai Mountain. Most of his activities can be found in Qāshānī's chronicle, but by contrast, his career was neglected by Chinese historians. The very obvious reason was he took part in a failed

76 拔赤拔的兒哈，是稅錢，防送回回田地裏的體例.

77 *Yuan dianzhang*, ed. Chen Gaohua, Zhang Fan, Liu Xiao, and Dang Baohai (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2011), §22, p. 906.

78 大德八年七月癸亥，諸王合贊自西域遣使來貢方物. See *Yuan shi*, 21.460.

79 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 498; Waṣṣāf/Nejad, p. 240.

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revolt in favor of the son of Qaishan 海山 (Yuan Wuzong 元武宗, r. 1307–1311) around 1317, and escaped (or was killed) after its failure.[80] Further evidence is needed to confirm that he was present at the royal Court in 1304.

Some valuable information about the Monopoly-trade (*zhongmai baohuo* 中賣寶貨) is also worthy of discussion here. Rashīd al-Dīn had reported a jewelry fraud case happened in 1298, which embroiled a wide range of people. According to *Jāmiʿ al-tawārikh*, some merchants had brought many jewels which they sold to Temür Qa'an. The amount of sale was determined to be 600,000 bars, and nearly 150,000 of that amount were paid by the merchants to the officers and ministers. An officer called Muqbal reported this information to Qa'an, therefore, the officers and ministers were arrested and imprisoned by Qa'an's order.[81]

With Waṣṣāf's narrative, we can survey the further development of the fraud case. Waṣṣāf described the conflicts between ʿAysha *pīnjān*, a representative of bureaucracy, and Temür Qa'an. In this paragraph, ʿAysha was the only official who was involved in the last case. He was the offspring of Rabban Ata, a famous Syrian Christian, and served as *kelemechi* (interpreter) for a long time. This is why Waṣṣāf believed that he tried to prevent Qa'an from purchasing Fakhr al-Dīn's goods just because of his religious background. But in fact, it is clear that Temür Qa'an himself played a crucial role throughout the event.

Fakhr al-Dīn offered 14,000 *bālish*, which was lower than 60,000 *bālish* in the jewelry fraud case. It might prove that the later was over-valuation. On the other side, what Temür Qa'an had opposed was just the alliance among *ortoq* and officials. His aim was cutting off their ties and monopolizing the benefit by himself.

Additionally, a new round of inflation happened around 1304. Some witnesses show that the value of paper money [*chāv*] fell continuously in this period. In the first volume of *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, the author tells us that in the reign of Qubilai Qa'an (or earlier period of Temür), every silver *bālish* was equivalent to 20 *bālish Chāv*, or 200 *dīnārs*,[82] but by 1304, the new ratio of exchange had

80 Liu Yingsheng, "Tuohuochi Chengxiang yu Yuan Jinshan shujun," *Nanjing daxue xuebao*, 4.4 (1992): pp. 34–42; Dang Baohai, "Yuanchao Yanyou nianjian beifang bianjiang Tuohuchi panluan kao: Du 'Dayuan zeng Lingbei xingsheng youcheng zhongmin gog miaobei,'" *Xiyu yanjiu*, 4.2 (2007): pp. 61–69; Akasaka Tsuneaki, "Hoshira no saikō to Baidaruei Chagatai ka", *Tōyōshi kenkyū*, 67, no. 4 (2009): pp. 36–69.

81 RD/RM, pp. 958–959, RD/Thackston, p. 349. Gao Rongsheng researched this case in detail, and surveyed the personal experiences of these officials which were involved in this case within Chinese sources. Gao Rongsheng, "Yuan Dade ernian de zhenbao qizha an," in *Yuan shi qianshi* (Nanjing: Fenghuang Chubanshe, 2010), pp. 20–48.

82 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 23.

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become every *bālish* [*Chāv*] equivalent to 8 *dīnār*s. The ratio of inflation was 20 percent, and this can be confirmed by Chinese sources.[83]

The Fate of Fakhr al-Dīn.

About the route of Fakhr al-Dīn's return trip, Yang Shu's biography said:

> When *Nahuai*'s tribute mission ended, he asked Yang Shu to escort them to return to the West. The Prime Minister *Halahasun Tarqan* followed that request and proposed to have Yang *Zhongxian xiaowei*, as *Haiyun fu qianhu*, to accompany him and adorned him with a golden tablet. In Dade 8 [1304] he departed the capital, and reached the destination called Hormuz in Dade 11 [1307]. During this task, Yang traveled amongst great winds and big waves over the course of 5 years.[84]

Compared to this, Waṣṣāf's history supply to us more details:

> The ambassadors remained four years in China, then considering to [their] will, they were dismissed with honour, Qa'an awarded Nuqāy īlchī many special gifts, and bestowed upon Fakhr al-Dīn a decree, tablet and many glorious souvenirs. A young girl from the household of a noblewoman (*dukhtarī az paivāstgān-i rabbāt-i ḥaẓārāt*) was bestowed upon him too. A friendly reply was written to Ghāzān Khān. In it, [Qa'an] indicated the good wish to reach an agreement among the offspring of Chinggiz Khān. On this account, the presents were sent in return, together with some valuable Chinese silk stuffs, which had fallen to the share of *Ṣāʿin Ajin*,[85] Hülegü Khān (*bi-Ṣāʿin Ajin Hūlāgū taʿalluq dāsht*), but had

83 An edict issued in 1312 indicated that before 1312, every *ding* silver can change 20 *ding Chao*, but at that time the rate was every *ding* silver equivalent to 25 *ding* [*Chao*]. See *Yuan dianzhang*, §22, p. 851.

84 那懷等朝貢事畢，請仍以君護送西還，丞相哈剌哈孫答剌罕如其請，奏授君忠顯校尉、海運副千戶、佩金符，與俱行。以八年發京師，十一年乃至其登陸處，曰忽魯模思云。是役也，君往來長 風巨浪中，歷五星霜. See Huang Jin, "Songjiang Jiading dengchu haiyun qianhu Yang jun muzhiming," p. 514.

85 *Ṣāyin Ejin* was a personal honor title of Hülegü. Waṣṣāf told us that "peoples called him [Hülegü] *Ṣāyin Ejin* in his lifetime" (Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 441). It seems that this title only appears in Persian sources. *Ejin* here means the "Master," which perhaps attributes to the item "father." And sometimes it was also used as a parallel term for the Chinese title "virtuous prince" (賢王, *xian wang*). See Chen Dezhi, "'Liu Yu [Chang de] Xi shi ji' jiao zhu," in *Zhonghua wen shi lun cong*, 1 (2015): p. 70. In an inscription written in Tibetan, we also can find that Ögödei's son Kodon was called as "Ecen Kodo" in his fief. See Ban Shin'ichirō, "Minsho ni okeru tai Mongoru seisaku to Kasai ni okeru Sakya-Pandita no choruten saiken: Kanbun Chibettobun taiyaku hikoku, Sentoku 5 nen (1430) 'Jūshū Ryōshū Hakutō shi' no rekishiteki haikei," *Ajia-Afurika gengo bunka kenkyū*, 30 (2012): pp. 42, 46.

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> remained in China since the time of Manggū Khān. An ambassador took charge of them on a separate junk, and he was commissioned to deliver expressions of friendship and regard.
>
> Malik Fakhr al-Dīn departed, much gratified at his reception, accompanied by the embassies and twenty-three junks, and other vessels laden with valuable properties. The ambassador of the Khān died on the voyage, [his soul] headed toward death-land. In succession, the big ship – like a huge mountain travelling on the galloping waves, which was called *junk* sank under storm of ocean, Nuqāy and his nökör passed away too ……. and when they were only two days distant from Maʿbar, Malik Fakhr al-Dīn also died …… His tomb is in Maʿbar, near that of his uncle. His death occurred towards the close of the year of AH 704 [1305 AD].

Matsuda Kōichi and Chen Gaohua 陳高華 have discussed the fact that Temür Qa'an let Nuqāy recover control over Hülegü's domain.[86] They believe the background of this action is the universal peace agreement that was signed successfully in the same year. According to history of Qāshānī, before Fakhr al-Dīn's return, another mission sent by Temür Qa'an, had already reached Marāgha, the *ordo* of Öljeitü (Ghazan had passed away at that time) via overland route.[87]

Matsuda Kōichi also noticed that only one ship was used to travel to Hülegü's domain, considerably fewer than trading ships. It was just a symbol of friendly relationship between two countries. This detail also indicates that the peace agreement indeed aimed to promote the commercial exchange, which was disturbed by the civil war for a long time. Corresponding with this event, in western part of Mongol World, the Jochid khan, Toqto'a also actively negotiated with Ghazan and tried to revive the Caucasus-Black sea commercial network which was blocked by the war between Hülegü and Berke.[88]

At last, the fact which was omitted in Yang Shu's biography was the fate of Ghazan's envoys. All these people died on the way. Yang Shu was the only one who reached Hormuz alive, but he became infected during the trip and hence had to retire at home. Referring to Marco Polo's words that when they were "on the sea, around 600 people beside sailors died and only eight people survived,"[89] we can imagine the difficulties facing when navigating on the sea at that time.

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86 Matsuda Kōichi, "Furagu ka no tōhō-ryō," *Tōyōshi kenkyū*, 39.1 (1980): p. 56; Chen Gaohua "Yuan dai de hanghai shijia ganpu yangshi: jianshuo Yuandai qita hanghai jiazu," *Haijiao shi yanjiu*, 2, no. 1 (1995): pp. 4–18.

87 *Tārīkh-i Ūljāytū*, p. 31, also see, Waṣṣāf/Nejād, p. 184.

88 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 50, RD/RM, vol. 2, p. 1302.

89 MP/Moule-Pelliot, §19, p. 90.

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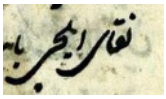
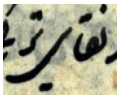
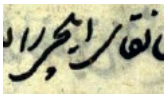
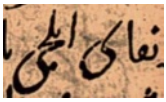
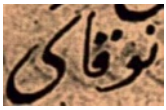
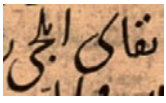
4 Conclusion

Down to the thirteenth century, a lively marine route commercial network had been formed by the local political dynasties and regional hegemons. During the Mongol era, the influence of this network reached its peak with the cultural and commercial exchange between western and eastern Asia. With the *Pax Mongolica*, the exchange of information and goods via maritime route played a crucial role. Within this network, the Yuan Empire and Ilkhanate shared the similar institution, technique and knowledge.

Meanwhile, the Yuan emperor as well as the Ilkhan positively recruited maritime merchants into the governmental institutions, to serve the Mongol rulers and royal families as their agents. If we compare al-Ṭībī's family with the leading groups who controlled the Maritime Trade Bureau (*shibosi* 市舶司) in Yuan dynasty, there are many similar characteristics among them. The rise of these families indicated a tendency to promote the maritime trade for Mongol ruler's benefit, on the other hand, to extend the Mongol influences into the maritime commercial affairs.

TABLE 5.1 Nuqāy's name in different editions

	Tehran Univ. 8617, f. 447	Nuqāy īlchī
	Tehran Univ. 8617, f. 447	Nuqāy
	Tehran Univ. 8617, f. 447	Nuqāy īlchī
	MS. Nuruosmaniye Library, f. 187a/p. 374	Nu[q]āy īlchī
	MS. Nuruosmaniye Library, f. 187b/p. 375	Nūqāy
	MS. Nuruosmaniye Library, f. 189a/p. 377	[N]uqāy īlchī

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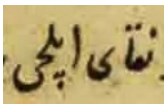
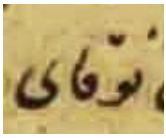
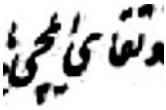
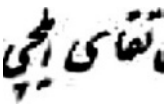
	MS. Majlis, No. 8621 (898), f. 274a	Nuqāy īlchī
	MS. Majlis, No. 8621 (898), f. 274b	Nūqāy
	Bombay, p. 505	Tuqāy īlchī
	Bombay, p. 506	Tuqāy īlchī

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CHAPTER 6

Comparing the Depictions of the Mongol Courts Created in the Yuan and the Ilkhanate

Koichi Matsuda

1 Introduction: Source Material

Regarding illustrations depicting the Mongol courts, those attached to some copies of the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (*A Compendium of Chronicles*) compiled by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, a chancellor to the Ilkhanate, in the early fourteenth century are well-known. Among them, there are some double-page illustrations considered to be depictions of the coronation of the Qa'an or Khan. However, it has remained an open question as to what particular stage of the coronation is depicted.

In this chapter, I demonstrate by means of a comparison with a Yuan court diagram and records of the Yuan court rituals that the double-page Mongol court illustrations depict the climactic scene of the coronation. In addition, I provide some new information regarding the figures and implements that appear in those double-page illustrations. The comparison relies primarily on the source materials as follows:

2 The *Reconstructed Depiction of a Mongol Court* (*RDMC*)

The double-page Mongol Court Illustrations[1] are attached to the two specific copies of *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. One of the these copies is preserved in Raza

1 Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World* (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 93 and 95; Yuka Kadoi, "The Mongols Enthroned," in *The Diez Albums*, ed. J. Gonnella et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 247–267. These double-page illustrations are conventionally taken to depict the Enthronement ceremony. However Melville stated that they depict what is essentially a celebration, either at a feast or more probably immediately following the coronation of the ruler. See Charles Melville, "The Illustration of the Turko-Mongol Era in the Berlin Diez Albums," in *The Diez Albums*, ed. J. Gonnella et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 232.

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Library, Rampur, India (MS P1820) and the other in Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (MS Supplément persan 1113). There are eleven double-page illustrations in the Rampur copy[2] and one double-page illustration in the Paris copy.[3]

The central figures in the double-page illustrations are the Qa'an or Khan and his consort, the Khatun, who appear on the right hand side of the double page, surrounded by various other figures, furniture and ceremonial implements. While there are minor differences in the details, the various elements are all arranged in essentially the same composition in all of these double-page illustrations. It is reasonable to think that this singular, shared, composition of the elements depicted reflects the fact that the illustrations base their compositional structure on the actual enthronement ceremonies of the Ilkhans, at the time when the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* was compiled, i.e., ca. 1307–1317.

Versions of what appear to have once been these same double-page illustrations, but separated into single-page sheets, can be found in the Diez albums preserved in Berlin State Library (*Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*) and in the Saray albums preserved in Topkapı Palace Library (*Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi*, hereafter TSMK) in Istanbul. The Diez albums have three sheets depicting the right-hand side of the enthronement scene (Diez A. fol. 70, p. 5, no. 1, p. 11, and p. 20) and three depicting the left-hand side (fol. 70, p. 10, no. 1, p. 21, and p. 23, no. 1), for a total of 6 scenes. The Saray albums have three depicting the right-hand side (TSMK, MS H. 2153, fol. 23v, 53v, and 148v) and one depicting the left-hand side (fol. 166r), for a total of 4 scenes. Since the enthronement illustrations of the Diez albums display older iconographical features of the early fourteenth century,[4] this chapter will base discussion on analysis of a reconstructed double-page enthronement illustration comprised of one left hand scene Diez A. fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1 and one right hand scene Diez A. fol. 70, p. 21 selected from the six scenes included in the Diez albums.

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2 Barbara Schmitz and Ziyaud-Din A. Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings and Illustrated Manuscripts in the Raza Library, Rampur* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2006), p. 175; Rampur, Raza Library, MS P1820, pp. 32–33, 34–35, 54–55, 70–71, 78–79, 94–95, 124–125, 154–155, 174–175, 214–215, and 232–233. The facsimile edition of MS P1820, or Rasheeduddin, *Jamiut Tawarikh*, is missing p. 45 and pp. 194–7 as well as two pages, which are blank in the original manuscript, p. 245 and p. 258, for a total of seven missing pages. Thus, while the original manuscript has 270 pages, the facsimile edition contains only 263 pages. Moreover, the printing of the facsimile edition has inadvertently swapped the positions of pp. 25–8 and pp. 29–32. When making use of the facsimile edition, it is necessary to pay attention to these pagination issues.

3 Rührdanz, "Illustrationen zu Rašīd al-Dīns Taʾrīḫ-i mubārak-i Ġāzānī," in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, ed. Denise Aigle, (Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1997), p. 299; Bibliothèque nationale, MS supplément persan 1113, 227v–228r.

4 Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, p. 94; Kadoi, "Mongols Enthroned," p. 260.

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FIGURE 6.1A *Reconstructed Depiction of a Mongol Court* (RDMC), Iran, 14th century, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Diez A. fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1 (left)

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FIGURE 6.1B *Reconstructed Depiction of a Mongol Court* (RDMC), Iran, 14th century, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Diez A. fol. 70, p. 21 (right)

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However, it must be noted that it is unclear as to whether the Diez album sheets depicting the left- and right-hand sides of the enthronement ceremony are, in fact, parts of what were originally double-page illustrations. Moreover, even if we assume this to be the case, there is room for dispute as to how best to recombine them into a reconstructed version of the original double-page illustration.[5]

That being said, these two sheets we have chosen to focus on, share some significant differences from the other four. Specifically, they each have in common some specific details regarding the chairs and benches, or parts thereof, which are not present in the other four sheets. Accordingly, if they are used to reconstruct a double-page illustration they share those mutual commonalities. In addition, we also selected these particular sheets for the double-page reconstruction because the chairs and benches themselves bear directly on a part of our argumentation here.[6] I abbreviate this *Reconstructed Depiction of a Mongol Court*, as the *RDMC* in the following discussion.

3 The *Huangyuan chaoyi zhi tu* 皇元朝儀之圖 *Yuan Court Ritual Diagram* (*YCRD*)

For the depiction of the Imperial Court of the Yuan dynasty, I use the *Huangyuan chaoyi zhi tu* 皇元朝儀之圖[7] or *Yuan Court Ritual Diagram*, found in the *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記, or "Comprehensive record of myriad matters, (i.e., Encyclopedia)." The *Shilin guangji* was originally edited by Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 (ca. 1200–1266) of the late Southern Song era and subsequently revised many times during the Yuan period.[8] The *Yuan Court Ritual Diagram* is includ-

5 Melville, "Illustration of the Turko-Mongol Era," p. 232, footnote 51; Kadoi, "Mongols Enthroned," pp. 247–248.

6 For a similar effort, see Rührdanz, "Illustrationen," p. 298; Karin Rührdanz, "Inthronisation eines mongolischen Herrschers," in *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: das Weltreich der Mongolen*, ed. Jutta Frings et al. (Bonn and München, Hirmer, 2005), pp. 260–261.

7 Miya stated that the *YCRD* is in fact the *Huangchao yuanhui banwei tu* 皇朝元會版位圖 [Layout diagram of position plates of the officials and the implements at the New Year's ritual of the glorious Yuan] created by Wang Shidian 王士點 sometime between 1314 and 1320, as referenced in chapter 19 of *Chunbaizhai leigao* 純白齋類稿 [Classified writings from Chunbai's hermitage] of Hu Zhu 胡助 (1278–1355). See Noriko Miya "Tsushima Sōkekyūzō no Gen kanpon '*Jirin kōki*' ni tsuite" 對馬宗家舊藏の元刊本『事林廣記』について [On the Yuan-era Printed Edition of the *Shilin guangji* from the former Collection of Sō Family of Tsushima], *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 [*The Journal of Oriental Studies*], 67, no. 1 (June 2008): p. 66, note 39.

8 On the detail explanation of the *Shilin guangji*, see Bai Huawen and Pian Yuqian, "*Shiling guangji* chuban shuoming"《事林廣記》出版説明 [the Explanation for the Publication of the *Shilin guangji*], in *Shilin guangji* (1999): pp. i–iv; Miya, "Tsushima," pp. 35–40; Noriko

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ed in some versions of the *Shilin guangji*. I used the version from the collection of the Sō 宗 family of Tsushima island, now in the possession of the museum of the island, the Nagasaki Prefectural Tsushima Museum of History and Folklore (*Nagasaki kenritsu Tsushima rekishi minzoku shiryōkan* 長崎県立対馬歴史民俗資料館)[9] because this version includes a copy of the *Yuan Court Ritual Diagram* and it is clearer than those found in other versions. The *Yuan Court Ritual Diagram* is found on fol. 5a and 5b of chapter 1 of the fourth part, or *bieji* 別集 [supplementary collection] of the version of *Shilin guangji*. I abbreviate this *Yuan Court Ritual Diagram* as the *YCRD* in the following discussion.

The *YCRD* describes both the positioning of chamberlains during the rituals held at the main palace building, *Daming dian* 大明殿 or 'Hall of Great Brightness' (hereafter, 'Daming Hall'),[10] as well as the attire (clothing and headdress) of the officials and imperial guards. Such rituals are held at the Enthronement, the New Year and Qa'an's birthday celebrations. The entire illustration is shown in Figure 6.2A–B.

4 Other Materials Concerned with the *YCRD*

There are three other particularly valuable supplementary sources regarding the *YCRD*. These are:

1. The *Yuanzheng shouchaoyi* 元正受朝儀 or the New Year ritual, the *Tianshou shengjie shouchaoyi* 天壽聖節受朝儀 or the Imperial birthday ritual, and the *Huangdi jiwei shouchaoyi* 皇帝即位受朝儀 or the Enthronement ritual in the first section of the *Liyuezhi* 禮樂志 [Treatise on rituals and musics], composing the chapter 67 of the *Yuanshi* 元史 [Yuan dynastic history].[11] While there are some particular elements specific to the Enthronement ritual the fundamental aspects are the same as for the other two ceremonies.[12] I abbreviate this record as *Liyuezhi* in the following discussion.

Miya, "Eizan bunko shozō no *'Jirin kōki'* shahon ni tsuite" 叡山文庫所蔵の『事林廣記』写本について [On the Manuscript of the Shilinguangji in Eizan Bunko Collection], *Shirin* 史林 [*The Journal of History*] 91, no. 3, (May 2008): pp. 1–5. There are seven versions of *Shilin guangji*. Some versions are dated 1325, 1330–1333 and 1340, but the dates for the others are indeterminate. See Noriko Miya, "Eizan," pp. 1–5.

9 The date of the version I use here is indeterminate.

10 The east-west width of the Daming Hall is ca. 63 m. the north-south length is ca. 38 m, and the height is ca. 28 m (*Gongque zhidu* or the explanation of Yuan court composition in Tao Zongyi, *Nancun chuogenglu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1958), p. 251.

11 *YS*, pp. 1666–1670.

12 In the cited sources, the notation "Imperial birthday ritual" is followed by the sentence "the ritual is same as that of the New Year" without any other text. However the section

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FIGURE 6.2A The *Huangyuan chaoyi zhi tu* 皇元朝儀之圖, or *Yuan Court Ritual Diagram* (*YCRD*), 5b (left) of chap. 1 of the *bieji* 別集 [supplementary collection] of *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記, China, 14th century, woodblock print, Nagasaki Prefectural Tsushima Museum of History and Folklore, IV-1-C-4

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FIGURE 6.2B The *Huangyuan chaoyi zhi tu* 皇元朝儀之圖, or *Yuan Court Ritual Diagram* (*YCRD*), fol. 5a (right) of ch. 1 of the *bieji* 別集 [supplementary collection] of *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記, China, 14th century, woodblock print, Nagasaki Prefectural Tsushima Museum of History and Folklore, IV-1-C-4

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2. The *Yiwei* 儀衛 [Ritual guards of the imperial court] or the third section of the *Yufuzhi* 輿服志 [Treatise on carriages and robes], composing chapter 80 of the *Yuanshi*.[13] I abbreviate this record as *Yiwei* in the following discussion.
3. The *Gongque zhidu* 宮闕制度 or the explanation of Yuan court composition in chapter 21 of the *Nancun Chuogenglu* 南村輟耕録 [Nancun's notes while resting from the plow] written by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1329–ca. 1412). Abbreviated in the following discussion as *Gongque zhidu*.

5 Positioning of the Qa'an or Khan and the Khatun

At first, let us begin with the confirmation of the position of the Qa'an or Khan and the Khatun. Their positions are self-evident in the *RDMC*. It might be thought that the position of the Qa'an and the Khatun in *YCRD* would be at the center of the assemblage, but there is no letters to indicate the position in the *YCRD* (see Figure 6.3).

There is, however, a position indicator in the center part of the illustration. This indicator is *lou* 漏 which is an abbreviated expression of the *louke* 漏刻, meaning 'Water-Powered Clock.'[14] It is written in the *Yiwei* that the Imperial Couch (*yuta* 御榻) of the Qa'an is on the north side of the Water-Powered Clock,[15] which is ca. 5.4 meters in height, in the Daming Hall.[16] The hall faces south, and so we can identify the position of the Qa'an in the *YCRD*. It is, specifically, the location of the place shaped as a Chinese Character, *ri* 日 to the north of the Water-Powered Clock, *lou* 漏.

And in the Yuan court rituals for New Year's day, the Qa'an's birthday and Enthronement, as recorded in the *Liyuezhi*, both the Qa'an and the Khatun ascend to the Imperial Couch.[17] We, therefore, know that the Qa'an and the Khatun ascend to the Imperial Couch together. According to the records by

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regarding "the Enthronement ritual," provides an explanation which specifies some differences in the proceedings relative to "the New Year ritual," but otherwise only repeating, in two instances, the words "same as the New Year's ritual."

13 *YS*, pp. 1997–2014.

14 For the detail explanation of the Water-Powered Clock, see Joseph Needham et al. *Heavenly Clockwork: The Great Astronomical Clocks of Medieval China*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 135–136. The indication to both sides of the clockwork in the *YCRD* is *xiang* 香 [incense]. It is explained in the *Yiwei* as a *xiang'an* 香案, or a table for placing an incense burner.

15 *YS*, p. 1997.

16 *YS*, pp. 994–995; "*Gongque zhidu*," in Tao, *Nancun chuogenglu*, p. 251.

17 *YS*, p. 1666.

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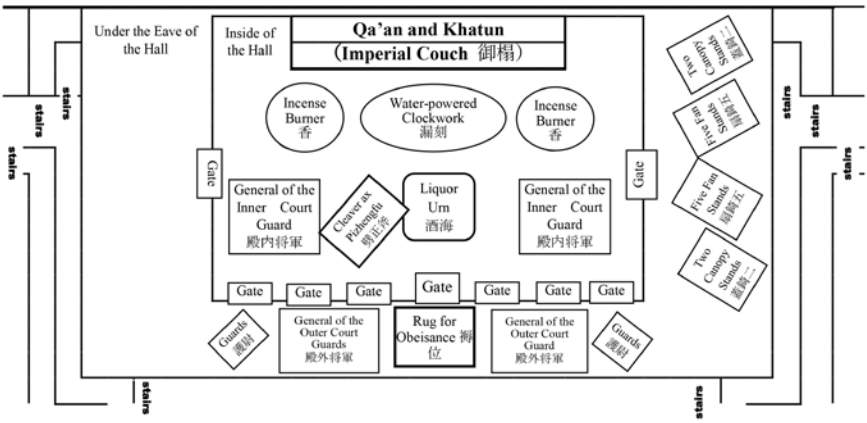

FIGURE 6.3 The center part of the *YCRD*, or *Daming dian* 大明殿 [Hall of Great Brightness]

Carpini, Rubruck, Polo, and Odoric, it is the standard custom at the Mongol courts that the Qa'an or the Khan and the Khatun sit on a Couch together.[18] Thus, in this respect, the seating of the Qa'an and the Khatun in the Yuan court corresponds to that of the Qa'an or Khan and the Khatun in the *RDMC*.

6 The Liquor Urn

The *YCRD* indicates that on the south side of the Clock there was a "Liquor Sea" (*jiuhai* 酒海). According to the *Gongque zhidu*, this was a liquor urn made of lacquered wood, wrapped with silver and decorated with flying golden dragons, ca. 5.4 meters in height and with a capacity of ca. 5 tons of liquor. The elephant-shaped table for liquor was also placed near by the Liquor Urn.[19]

18 John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols," tr. a nun of Stanbrook Abbey, in *The Mongol Mission*, ed. by Christopher Dawson (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955), p. 57; William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: his journey to the court of the Great Khan, 1253–1255*, tr. Peter Jackson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990), p. 132; MP/Moule-Pelliot, vol. 1, p. 217; Odoric of Pordenone, "*The Eastern Parts of the World* Described by Friar Odoric the Bohemian of Friuli, in the Province of Saint Anthony", in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ed. by Henry Yule and Henri Cordier (London: Hakluyt Society, 1913–1916), p. 222. Kadoi referred to Polo's observation (Kadoi, "Mongols Enthroned," p. 255). Rubruck witnessed another sight that Möngke Qa'an sat a little higher than his consort in the palace in the capital, Qaraqorum. But, even so, his consort sat alongside him. See Rubruck, *Mission*, p. 211.

19 "*Gongque zhidu*," in Tao, *Nancun chuogenglu*, p. 251.

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In addition, Marco Polo reported that it was made of gold, and that four small bottles were placed near it, with the liquor being distributed to participants in a small bottle for two.[20] Odoric reported that the Liquor Urn was called "Merdacas" and had good hoops around it. Liquor was delivered to this Liquor Urn by a pipe running from outside of the ritual hall.[21] Rubruck recorded that the Liquor Tree was erected in the court of Möngke Qa'an (r. 1251–1259) in the capital, Qaraqorum, to supply liquor when the banquet was held.[22] Traditionally, liquor was essential for Mongol court rituals.

On the lower part of the *RDMC*, a table is drawn and some liquor urns are seen on the top. The relative positions of the Qa'an or Khan and the Khatun vis a vis the Liquor Urn are the same in the *YCRD* and *RDMC*. However, the Liquor Urn of the Yuan court is very large being ca. 5.4 m in height and ca. 5 kl in quantity, much larger than that depicted in the *RDMC*.[23]

7 The Positioning of the Princes, Princesses, and Other Relatives

In the Yuan and Ilkhanate courts, male and female participants are, in either case, seated separately. Polo and Odoric have described seating arrangements of the Yuan Court.[24] According to both of them, the Crown Prince sat down to the immediate right of the Qa'an with other male relatives, barons, and other men also seated at tables on the right-hand side of the Qa'an, while the Qa'an's other wives, female relatives and wives of barons and other people, sat on the left-hand side of the Chief Khatun seated beside Qa'an. Polo states, in addition, that the Qa'an can see the faces of all of the participants. It is thought therefore that, other than the Crown Prince, all participants were seated a little southwards on either side of the Imperial Couch of the Qa'an. From this, we can estimate seating positions in the *YCRD* to be as shown in the Figure 6.4.

Similarly, the *RDMC* drawings show men positioned on the right-hand side of the Qa'an or Khan and women on the left-hand side of the Khatun, who is seated to the left of the Khan (see Figure 6.5).[25] It is perhaps hardly necessary to note that this left-right seating pattern division of male and female is the same as that seen in the traditional Mongol home, the *ger*.[26]

20 MP/Moule-Pelliot, vol. 1, pp. 218–219.
21 Odoric, "*Eastern Parts of the World*," pp. 220–222.
22 Rubruck, *Mission*, pp. 209–210.
23 "*Gongque zhidu*." In Tao, *Nancun chuogenglu*, p. 251.
24 MP/Moule-Pelliot, vol. 1, pp. 217–218; Odoric, "*Eastern Parts of the World*," pp. 222–225.
25 Kadoi, "Mongols Enthroned," pp. 255–256.
26 Torvald Faegre, *Tents: Architecture of the Nomads* (London: J. Murray, 1979), p. 92.

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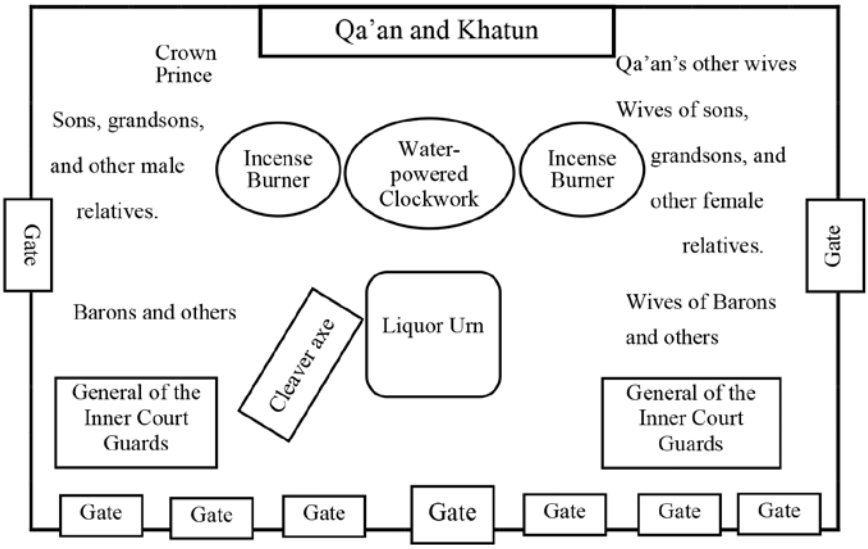

FIGURE 6.4 Reconstruction of the positioning of participants and ritual implements in the Yuan Court

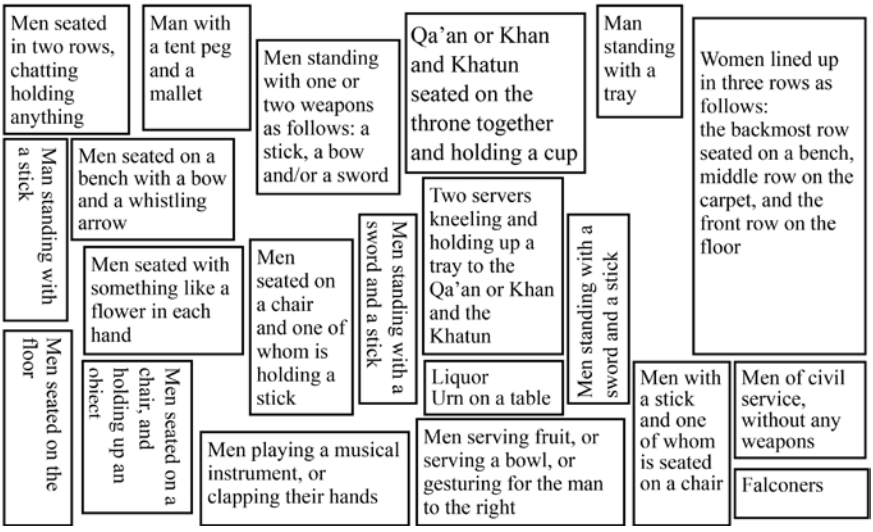
Men seated in two rows, chatting holding anything
Man with a tent peg and a mallet
Men standing with one or two weapons as follows: a stick, a bow and/or a sword
Qa'an or Khan and Khatun seated on the throne together and holding a cup
Man standing with a tray
Women lined up in three rows as follows: the backmost row seated on a bench, middle row on the carpet, and the front row on the floor
Man standing with a stick
Men seated on a bench with a bow and a whistling arrow
Two servers kneeling and holding up a tray to the Qa'an or Khan and the Khatun
Men seated with something like a flower in each hand
Men seated on a chair and one of whom is holding a stick
Men standing with a sword and a stick
Men standing with a sword and a stick
Men seated on the floor
Men seated on a chair, and holding up an object
Liquor Urn on a table
Men with a stick and one of whom is seated on a chair
Men of civil service, without any weapons
Men playing a musical instrument, or clapping their hands
Men serving fruit, or serving a bowl, or gesturing for the man to the right
Falconers

FIGURE 6.5 The positioning of people and the Liquor Urn Table in the *RDMC*

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Women on the right half of the *RDMC* line up in three rows. Women of the backmost row are seated on benches, middle row on the carpet, and front row on the floor. It is clear there is the difference in the height of women's seat. According to Polo, the Qa'an was seated very high above all the others at the court feast. All other people were seated lower and lower depending on their familial relationship to the Qa'an or other status.[27] The women were divided into three groups of descending status, respectively; Qa'an's wives other than the Khatun, the wives of sons and grandsons of Qa'an, and wives of barons and knights, with lower status conferring a lower seating position. The differences in the heights of women's seating positions as shown in the *RDMC* appears to correspond with the Polo's description.[28]

The upper left of the *RDMC* portrays a group of men holding neither weapons nor other implements and who, based on the arrangement of participants at the Yuan court, can be identified as the Qa'an's male relatives. However, we will reconsider this matter below in section 10.

8 Generals

The *RDMC* depicts two types of men; those with weapons and those without. Melville has already analyzed the roles of the various figures depicted in the double-page Mongol Court Illustrations in the Diez albums. He identified *bichikchis* (scribes), *qushchis* (falconers), and *ildüchis* (sword-bearers) and also stated that a man holding a tent peg and a mallet is perhaps *yurtchi* (camp master), and the group of men near a folded parasol are possibly *sukurchi* (parasol bearers).[29]

In addition to his analysis, I would like to discuss in some detail the men with a stick in the *RDMC*. We can easily conclude that those holding weapons are Guards of the Court, but for most groups of such Guards, the drawings show some seated and some standing. What does this difference signify? What is the stick that some Guards hold?

The *YCRD* makes the following distinctions regarding the makeup of the Guard of the Court.

27 MP/Moule-Pelliot, vol. 1, pp. 217–218.

28 This also might suggest that the *RDMC* is a depiction of the Yuan court, though it is not, in itself, sufficient to allow us to draw that conclusion.

29 Melville, "Illustration of the Turko-Mongol Era," p. 233.

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1. "General of the Inner Court" (*diannei jiangjun* 殿内将軍)
2. "General of the Outer Court" (*dianwai jiangjun* 殿外将軍)
3. "Guards" (*huwei* 護尉)

The *Yiwei* offers more detail regarding these, as follows:

1. "General of the Inner Court": This General holds the *guduo* 骨朶 [cudgel] with an agate hammer-head[30] and supervises persons, such as those like the *qorchi* and *ildüchi~üldüchis* as well as the Defense Chargés who belong to various imperial offices, all of whom carry a bow and arrow or a sword within the inner court.[31]
2. "General of the Outer Court": This General holds the *guduo* with a crystal hammer-head and supervises the Guards under the eaves of the Daming Hall.[32]
3. "Guards": These comprise a force of 40 people. The hostage offspring [of generals] serving in the *kebte'ül* (night-guard) take this role. Such hostages are called *turqaq* in Mongolian. They carry a bow and arrow, a sword and hold a *guduo* while standing under the east and west parts of the eaves [of the Daming Hall].[33]

According to these details, the Guards and their Generals in the Yuan court at the rituals were equipped with the *guduo*. The hammer-heads of the General's *guduo* were made of jewels such as agate or crystal, while those of the Guards' *guduo* were perhaps not made of jewels, insofar as *Yiwei* explains the materials of the hammer-heads of the Generals' *guduo*. The *Yiwei* does not do so for the Guards' *guduo*. We assume therefore that the *guduo* of the Guards have no special features.

What is the *guduo*? There are studies by Shimada Masao 島田正郎 and Chen Yongzhi 陳永志 regarding the *guduo*.[34] Based on Shimada and Chen's researches, we can say the following regarding the *guduo* or cudgel: It is an implement of punishment, which appeared for the first time during the Liao

30 The original text does not have the expression "hammer-head," but the modifiers such as "agate" or "crystal" attached to the *guduo* are interpreted as representing a difference in the material of the head of the cudgel. Therefore, I added the expression to the translation.

31 *YS*, p. 1998.

32 *YS*, p. 1998.

33 *YS*, pp. 1997–1998.

34 Shimada Masao, *Ryōsei no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sanwashobo, 1954), pp. 133, 248, and 250; Chen Yongzhi, "*Guduo* xingzhi ji xiangguan zhuwenti" 骨朵形制及相关諸问题 [The Shape and Structure of the Stick-shaped Weapon Called *Gu Duo* and Related Issues], *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu* 内蒙古文物考古 [Inner Mongolia Cultural Relic and Archaeology], 6–7 (1992): pp. 54–62.

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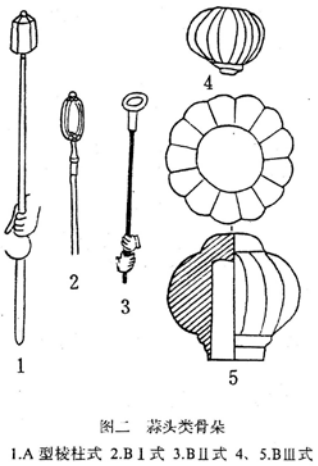

FIGURE 6.6
Examples of the *guduo* or cudgel after Chen, "Guduo xingzhi," 56, pl. 2, *suantoulei guduo* 蒜头类骨朵 [Garlic top type cudgel]

FIGURE 6.7
Guduo or cudgel in left-hand sheet of the *RDMC*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Diez albums, fol. 70, p. 11, no. 1

FIGURE 6.8
Guduo or cudgel in the right-hand sheet of the *RDMC*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Diez albums, fol. 70, p. 21

period (916–1125). It was also used for the equipment of the Honor Guards of the Emperor of the Liao, Song (960–1279), Jin (1115–1234), Yuan, and afterward.

The *guduo* takes various forms, but one of the figures of a *guduo* presented by Chen accords with an instrument drawn in the *RDMC* (see Figure 6.6). Therefore, we can identify that instrument as a *guduo*.[35]

35 It was made public in a 2016 exhibition catalogue that an actual example of that cudgel (*byaluu* in Mongolian, *masse d'arme* in French) had been discovered in the excavation of Yuan era tomb at Tavan Tolgoï in 2010. The catalogue contains a photograph of that cudgel together with an illustration (Diez A. folio 70, p. 18, no. 1 and Diez A. folio 71, p. 49) depicting several figures holding *byaluu*. See Tsagaan Turbat and Batsukh Dunbure, "Les Tombe de l'Élite Gengiskhanide," in *France – Mongolie: Découvertes Archéologiques, vingt ans de Partenariat – Catalogue de l'Exposition*, ed. Pierre-Henri Giscard et Tsagaan Turbat (Ulaanbaatar: Institute d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, 2015), pp. 152–154. The hammerhead of the cudgel is in the form of a globular mass, 11 cm in diameter, with six thorns on the surface. Also shown are handwritten pictures of "globular" pieces of various shapes, which are depicted in Ilkhanid era Persian miniatures, wherein the cudgel is considered as a kind of real weapon. See Turbat and Batsukh, "Les Tombe de l'Élite Gengiskhanide de Tavan Tolgoï", pp. 139–140, 148, and 153. That an actual cudgel has materialized is an important discovery. It has been argued that the tomb from which the *byaluu* or cudgel was excavated may be that of a member of the Chinggisid. But the possibility of it being that

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The *guduo* in the *RDMC* is depicted as if the inside of the hammer-head is translucent. The *guduo* held by the Guards at the Yuan court did not have a jeweled hammer-head while those of the Generals of the Guards, as aforementioned, held agate or crystal hammer-head. If the hammer-head of the *guduo* in the *RDMC* were also made of such jewels, it is possible that it is drawn so as to appear translucent.

Can we distinguish thereby between members of the Guard in the *RDMC*? In particular, can we tell which figures correspond to the Generals of the Inner and Outer Courts of the Yuan court? Unfortunately, all the hammer-heads of the *guduos* in the *RDMC* look the same, so it is impossible to distinguish the status of the persons holding them by differences in the hammer-heads.

There are also persons with *guduo* seated on chairs, one on the left (Figure 6.7) and the other on the right (Figure 6.8), who seem to be Commanders of the Guard.[36] Considering that the women seated on a bench are of higher status than those who are not, the men seated on chairs can be taken to have higher status than the person with a stick standing near them. If we identify these two persons seated in the court as the Commanders of the Guard in the Mongol court, they would correspond to the two Generals of the Inner Court depicted in the *YCRD*.

The *Yiwei* further explains that the posts of General of the Inner and of the Outer Courts are not permanent assignments and that only chief vassals, ordinarily serving as aides to the Qa'an are temporarily given the assignments each time imperial court rituals are being organized.[37] Upon appointment as General, there is a change in the appointee's regalia from the scepter (*hu* 笏), which they ordinarily hold, to the *guduo*.[38] Therefore, this explanation shows that *guduo* held by the Generals at the court rituals was not a regular implement but a ceremonial one.

9 Men Standing to the South of the Liquor Urn

I turn now to a consideration of the persons standing to the south of the Liquor Urn in *RDMC*. The *Yiwei* explains the management of the urn as follows; the

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of a high-level general commanding the guards should be given more weight because the very fact that the cudgel excavated suggests that the owner of the ritual weapon belonged to the Qa'an's guards organization.

36 Unfortunately, it is not evident whether or not the hammer-head of *guduo* is attached to the stick of the seated person in Figure 6.8.

37 *YS*, p. 1998.

38 *YS*, p. 1998.

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Keepers of Liquor (*jiuren* 酒人) total 60 persons consisting of; 20 *darachi* (*zhujiu* 主酒) or "masters of liquor," 20 *qarachi* (*zhudong* 主湩) or "masters of fermented mare's milk," and 20 *ba'urchi* (*zhushan* 主膳) or stewards. These Keepers of the Liquor stand to the south of the Liquor Urn facing northwards. In the *RDMC*, the people illustrated as being in front of the liquor Urn and serving the man sitting to their right are fewer in number than is described in the *Yiwei*, but must nevertheless be the Keepers of Liquor.

10 Some Other Implements and Figures in the *YCRD*

There are other indications in the *YCRD* such as the *pizhengfu* 劈正斧, a Chinese traditional ritual axe symbolizing justice inside of the court, and the *ruwei* 褥位 or "Rug of Obeisance" located under the eaves of the court pavilion. According to the Tao Zongyi, the *pizhengfu* is a ritual axe, which symbolically corrects all error, and is made with green or blue crystal in place of a blade. Its length is 60~70 centimeters and its width is half of that and it is set in front of the Qa'an and the Liquor Urn.[39] This is not seen in the *RDMC*. It reflects the Chinese tradition of the court ritual. Considering that the *ruwei* marks the position from which people kneel down to show obeisance to the Qa'an, we can hypothesize that this, in the *RDMC*, corresponds to the position of the two kneeling "servers"[40] in front of the Qa'an or Khan and the Khatun.

Who are the servers? According to the explanation of the Yuan court rituals held at the New Year, the Qa'an's birthday, and upon Enthronement in the *Liyuezhi*, the Chengxiang 丞相, or Chief Councilor, kneels down on the Rug of Obeisance, prays for the Qa'an's longevity, and then moving to the position to serve liquor, probably immediate front of the Qa'an, serves a cup to the Qa'an three times. The Qa'an takes such cups and lifts them up while the bureaucrats inside and outside the court worshiped toward him.[41]

This scene portrays the climax of the Yuan court ritual. For the Yuan, there was ordinarily two Chief Councilors, that of the right and that of the left. The position of the servers depicted in the *RDMC* may be correspond to the Rug of Obeisance or another position from which to serve cup to the Qa'an at the Yuan court, or be the single position from which to perform those two functions.

39 Tao, *Nancun chuogenglu*, pp. 55–56.

40 Melville identified the server as *susunchi* (food server). See Melville, "Illustration of the Turko-Mongol Era," 233.

41 *YS*, pp. 1667–1668.

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In any case, we can conclude that the two servers were not mere servers but, rather, were Ministers holding the highest positions in the Mongol court.

At the left bottom of the *RDMC*, we can see the band playing musical instruments and individuals clapping their hands. Judging from the aforementioned Yuan court ritual scene recorded in the *Liyuezhi*, the scene depicted in the *RDMC* can be regarded as the climax of the court ritual whereupon the Qa'an or Khan[42] were served liquor along with the musical accompaniment.

Finally, for the group of men seated in two rows in the upper left side of the *RDMC*, the fact that they are holding nothing in their hands suggests that they are neither guards nor staff serving the ritual itself. Rather, judging from the positioning of the figures in the *YCRD* they should be considered as princes or male relatives of the Qa'an.

11 Conclusion

In comparing the *RDMC* and the center part of the *YCRD*, we can see that the positioning of people and instruments are basically consistent. Taking the case of the Yuan court rituals as a reference, I concluded that the *RDMC* depicts the climactic scene of the enthronement at the Mongol court and shows that this involved both musical accompaniment and ritual offerings of liquor to the Qa'an or Khan and the Khatun made by the most influential government ministers. Furthermore, it shows us that one of the weapons that the court guards were equipped with is the *guduo*, a ritual cudgel used from the time of the Liao dynasty (916–1125) onwards.

Acknowledgements

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42 The Khatun in the *RDMC* was also served liquor, as we can tell from the fact that she is depicted with the same cup that her consort, the Qa'an or Khan holds. In the double-page Mongol Court Illustrations in the Rampur copy of *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, the Khatuns of Tolui, Möngke, Qubilai, and Temür hold a cup in each hand. See Rampur, Raza Library, MS P1820, pp. 70, 94, 124, and 154. On the other hand, the Khatuns of Jochi, Chaghadai, Güyük, Hülegü, and Abaqa do not hold a cup. See MS P1820, pp. 34, 54, 78, 174, 214, and 232. In the Paris copy, the Khatun of Ghazan holds a cup. See Bibliothèque nationale, MS supplément persan 1113, 227v–228. Thus, not all of the Khatuns held a cup in their hands at the climactic scene of the court rituals.

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conference "New Approaches on the Ilkhans" held in May 21–23, 2014 in Ulaanbaatar. A Mongolian version of the original article was translated by D. Tod, and was published in 2017. The present chapter is substantial revision of the original version carried out in 2019. I am extremely grateful to Professor Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan, Mongolian National University, the director of the international conference who gave me the opportunity to make the original presentation. And for using depictions in the Diez albums, I am grateful to the Oriental department of the Berlin State Library [Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz], and in particular, the director of the department, Mr. Christoph Rauch. For using *Shilin guangji*, I am also grateful to Nagasaki Prefectural Tsushima Museum of History and Folklore (*Nagasaki kenritsu Tsushima rekishi minzoku shiryōkan* 長崎県立対馬歴史民俗資料館). For the citation of the figure of *guduo*, or cudgel, I thank Professor Chen Yongzhi.

Dr. James Goode

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CHAPTER 7

A Dirham for Your Drinking Cup: Calculating Monetary Value

Judith Kolbas

For millennia, people of the steppe have enjoyed their drink. Having a proper drinking cup was a major ritual item as attested by ancient *balbals*. Those statues presumably represented the ruler, who supplied his people, especially retainers, with food, drink and clothing or all necessities for existence. This deep-seated steppe tradition produced elaborate banquets[1] but was best manifested by drinking rituals at court.[2] They were remarkably structured occasions, even as it is today at gatherings, with various types of protocol that include singing, dancing and especially an orchestrated proffering by the host of the drinking bowl or cup to the group.[3] More than anything else in Mongol imperial times, the ritual represented the social cohesion of the ruling elite and was a major mechanism for ensuring loyalty to the ruler.[4] It also cemented the authority of commanders in the field. This was the main point that Güyük made to contest the hierarchy of the first to drink at a feast in the Qipchāq

1 The major study of imperial Mongol food is Paul D. Buell, editor and translator, with Eugene N. Anderson, *A Soup for the Qan: Chinese Dietary Medicine of the Mongol Era as Seen in Hu Szu-hui's Yin- shan Cheng-yao* (London: Kegan Paul International, 2000; revised and expanded edition, Brill, 2010).

2 During the deliberations to elect Ögödei as the new khan, "All that day till nightfall they debated together with gaiety and friendly emulation. And in this manner for full forty days they donned each day new clothes of different colour and quaffed cups of wine, at the same time discussing affairs of the kingdom"; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 186.

3 For example, at the investiture of Ögödei Qā'ān, "Ulugh [Tolui] Noyan took a cup and all present in and outside the Court thrice knelt down and uttered prayers saying, 'May the kingdom prosper by his being Khan!'"; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 187. Moreover, "The Mongols engaged in ritual drinking at their great feasts, often to a beat provided by the khan which everyone was in theory obliged to participate"; see 'Drinking ritual' in Paul D. Buell, *Historical Dictionary of the Mongol World Empire* (Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2003), p. 150.

4 There are many examples in the *Secret History of the Mongols* of Chingiz Khān's strict ideas about loyalty. As Allsen explains the reason for Chingiz Khān issuing a death penalty, "so long as a ruler supplies his retinue with clothing and food he can expect and demand unflinching service and complete loyalty"; Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and exchange in the Mongol Empire: a cultural history of Islamic textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 54–5.

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campaign. Batu assumed that privilege, which symbolized the start of the deep animosity between Güyük and Batu.[5]

The material of the cup in pre-Mongol days is unknown; but in imperial times and even today, it should be silver. That metal is the most efficacious one for good health;[6] but, in terms of economics and especially the market, silver had a value that could be represented in money. This author's previous study of the financial system of the Hūlāgūids revealed that there was a highly sophisticated understanding of monetary and fiscal dynamics that expanded trade and production of goods.[7] Therefore, a silver goblet or *qundagha* could have significant monetary value. Of course, demand for a status symbol added to that value; but this paper concentrates on the silver coinage that could have bought it. Two particular factors come into play, namely the weight and purity of the silver coin, since they affected the amount of metal needed to reach the price.

The title of this paper also refers to a *dirham*, which was a silver coin that originated in the Middle East. Finance was moving forward and was no longer as restricted as before. There was definite growth in local markets and international trade caused by the revolution in flexible exchange and accounting practices. It could be said that the revolution took place because the empire was large and enjoyed the *Pax Mongolica*. Nevertheless, how did all this happen on the ground and what are the substantial signs for this oft-repeated assertion? One indication is that the Mongols in Iran slowly but effectively moved the economy from a product-related proportion taken by governments to a centralized monetary taxation system. This is particularly evident in regions that were at first only tributaries like Fars under the atabegs[8] or in Baghdād, in which Juwaynī was instructed to collect Mongol taxes and forego the former awkward Caliphal ones.[9] This policy undoubtedly enhanced monetary flows

5 Batu said "As I am somewhat the eldest of all these princes, I have first drunk one or two bowls …," but Böri and Güyük strongly disagreed and noted that "As Batu then is equal to us, why should he have drunk first?" The two left the campaign and returned to Qara-Qorum; *SHM*, §275.

6 Such as its use in the silver belt Ögödei wore to help alleviate a stomach ache.

7 For a concise summary, see 'Overview' in Judith Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran, Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu 1220 to 1309* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 375–80.

8 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, pp. 169–70.

9 As Juwaynī reports: "When Hulagu appointed me to [the governorship of] Baghdad, the inheritance taxes were in force in all that region; I swept away that system and abolished imposts that had been levied in the countries of Tustar and Bayat [both in Khuzistan]. There are many other *yasa*s …"; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 34, and elimination of taxes for religious institutions of all denominations, 15–16. The implication is that a new taxation system was established, not that no taxes at all were collected. Indeed, 'Ata Malik Juwaynī as governor of 'Iraq-i 'Arab

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across those regions. Indeed, a great deal more coinage emerged and many more mints were active as the Mongols developed tighter and more cohesive administration in Greater Iran.[10] Therefore, with increased monetary circulation and relative peace, the economy comes into better focus for historians.

A major clue to the mechanism of more flexible exchange and increased economic activity has recently come from an unexpected source, Egypt. Once a comparison is made between the wealthiest region in the Middle East, Egypt, and Hülegüid territories, it becomes evident that there was a strong relationship between the two monetary systems. Briefly, at first the Mongols tapped into the prevailing system by linking theirs with the Artuqid principality centered on Mārdīn. By the third quarter of the thirteenth century however, Iran forged its own direction leaving Egypt's hegemony. By the end of the century, Ghazan Khan's reform culminated a complete makeover of the international system. Only a century later did the Mamlūks in Egypt follow the same practical steps. However, during the two centuries of copying or different approaches, there was still agreement on the way to calculate in silver or gold the actual worth of a coin or precious object. Trade between the two states was easy because they shared the same basis for financial calculations. This ability allowed a determination for the value of a goblet.

To enter into detail, the transition from an archaic and complicated payment system to a simpler and more inclusive[11] one seems to have started in 622/1225. The Mongols were on the rampage in Azerbaijan with no firm control of the area. However in Egypt, the Ayyūbid sultan, al-Kāmil Muḥammad (615–35/1218–38), conducted in that year a monetary reform that upgraded the purity of the silver currency.[12] However, it and all subsequent silver coinage until the fifteenth century did not have a standard weight. The purity of

was in charge of all the monetary taxes collected in the Ilkhanate during the 670s/1270s; Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, p. 198.

10 Arghun and Ghazan had the most mints: about twenty-four for Arghun and about a hundred for Ghazan; Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, pp. 269–70 and 328 respectively.

11 The term "inclusive" means that all metals, whether gold, silver or copper, could be calculated on the same scale.

12 Apparently, the decree stated that the coin was supposed to have 2/3 silver and 1/3 copper, but Balog's chemical analysis of the reform coinage did not verify that claim. Instead, according to his chart on page 38, the new dirhams still had only 1/3 silver like the previous coinage. Just the shape had changed. He did not test coins for every ruler and type, but his results did show that at least by 645/1247 the coins did contain 2/3 silver; Paul Balog, *The Coinage of the Ayyūbids* (London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1980), p. 154. According to dates on glass weights, it seems the reform had taken hold at least by 637/1239 if not before.

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the alloy was consistent but not the weight.[13] In spite of this shortcoming, a time-honored system of weighing each coin or a group of them in purses solved that problem. Glass weights were issued by the state for the purpose,[14] but the first ones with actual dates came out only in 637/1239, fifteen years after the reform.[15]

Meanwhile in Iran, the first reasonable administration occurred once Chormaqan settled at Ganja in Azerbaijan. His civilian governor, Körgüz, appointed a deputy, Niẓām al-Dīn, to strike the first Mongol money in the territory and therefore had the first tax collection. This occurred also in 637/1239.[16] The similarity of the two dates is probably not coincidental. The Mongol money was silver in contrast to the previous coinage, which had been only copper, and had a high level of purity, often 95 percent.[17] Moreover, it matched the weight of silver coins issued in Mārdīn, which sat astride the lucrative trade route across the top of the Fertile Crescent into the Ayyūbid territories of Syria and Egypt. The Mongols presumably wanted to enter the trade network. The Artuqid-Ayyūbid weight pattern was not used anywhere else in the Middle East at that time.[18] Therefore, Niẓām al-Dīn organized his financial base to correspond with Egypt. On the other hand, unlike Ayyūbid coins, Mongol ones had a steady weight: the Mongols never allowed their money to be suspect because of weight variations. Thus, from the start of commercial relations, the Mongols and Ayyūbids, later the Mamlūks, were tied into the same accounting system. The basis was the *mithqāl*, and the coins were supposed to have a definite relation by weight to it. That relationship could and did change but at a distinct real number ratio known to everyone dealing in commerce or taxation.

Niẓām al-Dīn used the *mithqāl* of 4.24 grams and chose a coin that was 2/3 of that full weight or 2.83 grams,[19] exactly the same as Mārdīn's silver. The Ayyūbids and later the Mamlūks, on the other hand, used a heavy *mithqāl*

13 The weight of dirhams varied from less than one to six grams; Warren C. Schultz, "Mamlūk Metrology and the Numismatic Evidence," *al-Masāq* 15, no. 1 (2003): p. 61. Also Warren C. Schultz, "The Circulation of Dirhams in the Bahri Period" in *The Mamluks in Egypt and Syria: Politics and Society,* edited by Michael Winter and Amalia LeVanoni (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 226.

14 For the system at that time, see Judith Kolbas, 'General Commentary,' in *Catalogue of Mamlūk Glass Weights* (London: Royal Numismatic Society, forthcoming). The catalogue also has an extensive bibliography of previous studies of glass weights for earlier periods.

15 The agents responsible were Abū Bakr and 'Umar 'Abd Allāh, who put their names on the weights and used Coptic numerals for the date; Kolbas, *Catalogue*, Entries 2 and 3.

16 It started in Ardabīl, the former capital of the Ildigizids; Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, p. 104.

17 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, 'Purity and Alloy': Table 1.2, p. 22.

18 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, p. 113.

19 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran,* p. 113.

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of 4.33 grams to start their accounting.[20] These *mithqāl*s were used for calculation: coins were issued at these weights extremely rarely and do not enter into this discussion. However, since normal Ayyūbid and all Mamlūk coins contained on average seventy percent silver, not almost pure silver like most Mongol coins, a merchant had to have more Mamlūk coins than Mongol ones to purchase the same item with all other factors being equal. Nevertheless, the calculation was easily accomplished by weighing Mamlūk coins with official glass weights. The fundamental unit was 3.03 grams,[21] and the weights were extremely precise, unlike their coins. Even so, if the coin had only 7/10 of silver in it, then it was actually worth 2.12 grams of pure silver. In this way, a simple ratio met the needs of traders in Egypt since this value of 2.12 grams was half of the *mithqāl* of 4.24 grams. As stated, Niẓām al-Dīn's coins were also on this *mithqāl* standard of 4.24 grams; but his coins were better at 2/3 of the whole instead of the half. In spite of Gresham's Law so much discussed in numismatic circles, in the Middle Ages, the best currency was preferred and became the international one.[22] It seems, therefore, that the Mongols were ready to take on the role of international banker and challenged Egyptian hegemony. They did this by working within the system already operating but made their coins more valuable and reliable. A motivating factor might well have been that they dearly wanted the trading revenues gained from customs duties.

As for Syria and Egypt, upon the Mamlūk take-over, the regime just continued the same accounting practice of the Ayyūbids. In Egypt and Greater Iran, the calculations were as presented in Table 7.1, matching with actual glass weights in Egypt.

As the table shows, the late Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk system generally issued weights in the proportion of 7/10 of the *mithqāl* while the Mongols liked the proportion of 2/3 for their coins. The above-listed Mamlūk ratios lasted until 787/1385, at which point weights were issued at the full *mithqāl* of 4.33 grams.[23] That year heralded the transformation of the system since previously the full *mithqāl* had not been used for physical weights, only simple

20 Kolbas, *Catalogue,* 'Metrology.'

21 Kolbas, *Catalogue*, 'Metrology.' A working range for the unit weight standard centering on 3.03 grams is also presented in Schultz, "Mamluk Metrology," p. 66.

22 Gresham's Law states, succinctly, "bad money, drives out good," meaning that if coins of different value have the same legal value, then the coins of the lesser metal will be used in payment while those of greater value will be hoarded or kept out of circulation. See "Gresham's Law," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed December 27, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Greshams-law.

23 The secure date comes from the output of ʿAlī al-Shuwaykh, but two other agents from the same period without firm dates produced similar weights; Kolbas, *Catalogue*, Entries 38, 39 and 40.

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TABLE 7.1 Weight calculations of *mithqāls* and subdivisions

Grams	Unit of account
4.33	heavy Mamlūk *mithqāl*
4.24	Mongol *mithqāl*
3.03	standard unit (70% of the heavy Mamlūk *mithqāl*)
2.83	2/3 of the Mongol *mithqāl*
2.12	70% of the standard unit of the heavy Mamlūk *mithqāl* (no discs); 1/2 the Mongol *mithqāl*
1.51	50% of the standard unit; 35% of the heavy Mamlūk *mithqāl*
1.08	70% of the standard half unit; 25% of the heavy Mamlūk *mithqāl*

portions of it. Meanwhile, Mongol coins had been so accurate[24] that no weights seem to have been necessary.[25]

The chart simplifies matters and does not include transitions in Greater Iran, which deserve explanation. Moving on then from Körgüz and Chormaqan, the Mongol administration during Güyük's reign (644–6/1246–8) changed course and turned towards the weight pattern found in most other parts of the Middle East. This was the one that the Caliphate in Baghdād used with a lower *mithqāl* of 4.13 grams. Even so, Güyük's money still retained the proportion of 2/3 to that *mithqāl* for a coin of 2.75 grams. However, once Möngke Qā'ān

24 This accuracy can be noted particularly in Abaqa's reign, during which many adjustments were made. For the early period, see Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, pp. 204–5; for the later period, see the section on 'Quality Control,' p. 220.

25 This was true throughout the Mongol presence in Greater Iran. Indeed, although Ghazan Khan had ordered weights in his edict of 698/1299 as provided by Rashid al-Dīn, none existed even from that reform period. According to this author's translation of the edict, "Just as the fineness of gold and silver in the land should be equal, so should the weights be equal. For that purpose, We appoint the masters Fakr al-Dīn and Baha al-Dīn Khurāsāni so that people manufacture weights for gold and silver in an octagonal shape. In every district, they (Fakr al-Dīn and Baha al-Dīn,) should appoint two trustworthy men as their agents, (with) one reliable person on behalf of the judge of the district to verify the weights in the presence of the market inspector. The method of controlling (the system) is that they (the people) have constructed in an octagonal shape and stamped the weights for gold, following the model of Fakr al-Dīn and Baha al-Dīn Khurāsāni. In every district, every person who may have need for weight(s) should make them for himself from pure iron, again in that shape. After that, they (he) should go to the four aforementioned agents, who were appointed in every district, so that the agents, verifying adherence to the standard, place a stamp on that to that (effect) and (then) surrender them (back to the person)"; Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, pp. 318–9.

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stabilized the empire, the coinage went back to the original *mithqāl* and kept the division of 2/3.[26]

The Battle of Harāt in 668/1270 was a pivotal point in the administrative and financial development of the Ilkhanate. The Ögödeid and Chaghatayid *ulus*es strove to take Khurāsān and had previously expected Iran to continue to pay part of its revenue to the leading princes. The success of Abaqa (663–80/1265–82) at the battle allowed Abaqa to abandon those terms established under Möngke Qa'an's rule and concentrate on his own realm.[27] During the ensuing amalgamation of the various regions and the true creation of the Ilkhanate, Abaqa Khan and his son, Arghun Khan (683–90/1284–91), had a variety of weight proportions in several regions.[28] However, starting in 671/1272 in Tabriz at the central treasury, Abaqa returned to the 4.13-gram *mithqāl* of Güyük. Even so, he still chose the coin to be at 2/3 of the full *mithqāl*. This reform also saw the introduction of Mongolian legends and script on the coinage. Abaqa stayed with this weight for seven years until 678/1279. Then in 683/1284, Arghun returned to the 4.24-gram *mithqāl*. Also over this period, there was a slow and complicated descent in weight for individual coins that ignored easily determined whole-number proportions.[29] Reducing the weight of the actual coin without upsetting the tax registers was possible because of the application of new mathematical discoveries, especially the role of real and unreal numbers that overtook the simpler method of basic ratios. However, during all of this experimentation, the Mongols normally stuck to a mono-metallic system of silver coinage, which greatly simplified the monetary situation and allowed changes without creating chaos. Finally, in 698/1299, the reform of Ghazan Khan (6994–703/1295–1304) at the high point of Mongol power in the area expanded the use of that *mithqāl* to the northern and eastern parts of the Middle East, bringing them in line with the southern and western portions of the Hülegüid empire. However, Ghazan abandoned the favorite proportion of 2/3 to adopt that of one-half. The normal coin thus weighed 2.12 grams whether it was then gold or silver.[30]

As indicated earlier, 2.12 grams was the actual silver value of Mamlūk coins under the glass weight system, so the two systems were finally at par. Thankfully, the Hülegüids did not change their system anymore; but the Mamlūks did. Only in 792/1390, which was after the demise of the Hülegüids, did the Mamlūks

26 Table 1.5. 'Weight Standards for Silver Coinage'; Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, p. 27.
27 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran,* pp. 195–6.
28 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran,* p. 175.
29 Table 1.5, 'Weigh Standards for Silver Coinage'; Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, p. 27.
30 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, p. 326.

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abandon the glass weight system altogether,[31] ending a 700-year Islamic tradition in Egypt to verify coins and commodities. The regime was on its way to stabilizing the weight of its money and issuing coins in proportions to the accounting standard once again. Finally, the reform of 804/1402 reduced the heavy *mithqāl* and established the accounting unit at 4.24 grams.[32] Part of the difficulty for the Mamlūks had been their need for a tri-metallic system of gold and silver currency with copper as a token or local exchange medium. The Mongols did not have such a complex system until Ghazan's reform with his incorporation of all three metals. Therefore, in the end, the Mongols adopted part of the Mamlūk system; and the Mamlūks, a hundred years later, tried to follow the Mongol example when they abandoned their own unique method for transactions.

As a result of the comparison above, there appears to have been a strong monetary interconnection between Greater Iran and Egypt that existed from the very beginning of the Mongol incursion into Iran. The two states integrated their systems by using the same basic accounting unit in order to exchange money and goods in the market place. Moreover, first the Egyptians followed by the Mongols did not accept Caliphal monetary practices. Rather, they both had large viable internal markets and strong international trading connections. Thus, these two super powers dominated trade across Asia and through the Indian Ocean so that the value of an object could often be calculated in any market of the period. They apparently vied with each other for the same trade and, in so doing, also learned from each other. It seems that the two did not interact as much in war as they did in peace and commerce. Indeed, this period was pivotal for the Middle East for advancing from a cumbersome and restrictive medieval financial system to one that continued until the advent of European colonialism. Thus, a prince holding court seated on his throne could not only distribute largesse but also impress the audience with his silks and gems and especially the expense of his silver goblet.

31 They did so under the agency of 'Alī al-Shuwaykh, who again provided a firm date; Kolbas, *Catalogue*, Entry 40.

32 Still, the Mamlūks had difficulty determining the ratio of their coins to the *mithqāl* at least for gold coins; Paul Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, Numismatic Studies No. 122 (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1964) pp. 42–3. Schultz observed that there was an attempt to return to the 4.33-gram *mithqāl* in 821/1418–19 at least for gold coins, on which the word *mithqāl* actually appeared. However, this reversion apparently did not succeed since he could locate only five specimens; Schultz, 'Mamluk Metrology,' p. 62.

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PART 3

The Ilkhans in a Middle Eastern World

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CHAPTER 8

Political Legitimation in the Ilkhanate: More Thoughts on the Mongol Imperial Ideology, the Introduction of Muslim Justifications, and the Revival of Iranian Ideals

Reuven Amitai

> … [I]t is very common for minorities, by force or by the use of more ruthless and far-sighted methods, to impose an order which in the course of time comes to be regarded as legitimate by those who originally resisted it.
>
> MAX WEBER[1]

The Mongol Ilkhanate in Iran and the surrounding countries represents an interesting case of political ideology and legitimation.[2] The Mongols under Hülegü came to the Middle East with a well-articulated and clear imperial ideology of world conquest under the leadership of the descendants of Chinggis Khan.[3] With some changes, this ideology still had potency even after the de

1 *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, tr. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parson, ed. with introduction T. Parson (New York: The Free Press, 1947), p. 132.

2 This is a significant revision of my lecture at the 2014 Ulaanbaatar conference, then entitled "Echoes from the Mamluk Sources of Iran's Pre-Islamic Past in the Ilkhanate: Towards a Better Understanding of Mongol Political Legitimization in the Middle East." Further research and rewriting was carried out while I was a fellow at the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg ("History and Society during the Mamluk Era") at the University of Bonn from 2014–2016. I am grateful to the directors and staff of the Kolleg for having providing such a conducive place for research and all the fellows – junior and senior – who contributed to creating a very stimulating and supportive atmosphere.

3 There is a large literature on the Mongol imperial ideology. Here are some of the most important studies: Eric Voegelin, "The Mongol Orders of Submission to the European Powers," *Byzantion*, 15 (1941): pp. 378–413; Karl Sagaster, "Herrschaftsideologie und Friedensgedanke bei den Mongolen," *CAJ*, 17 (1973): pp. 223–42; Igor de Rachewiltz, "Some Remarks on

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facto break-up of the Mongol empire ca. 1260, the subsequent establishment of an all but independent Hülegüid state and then the fighting among the Mongols *ulus*es.[4] An additional layer of legitimacy was later added with the conversion of the Mongol rulers, elites and tribesmen: the Ilkhan was known now also as the *Pādshāh-i Islām* ("Emperor of Islam"), a title which would have had currency in both the Ilkhanate and beyond in other Muslim lands. The Mongol ruler was henceforth presented as the paragon of Islamic rule through deeds and titles. Both strands of legitimacy continued to coexist, without undue dissonance, certainly among the Mongols themselves and its supporters from the local religious and bureaucratic elites.[5]

It has been suggested and forcefully argued by some modern historians – notably Dorothea Krawulsky and Bert Fragner – that early on, the Mongols also began looking to the pre-Islamic Iranian political ideology to bolster their rule in the Ilkhanate vis-à-vis local Iranian elites and perhaps even wider swaths of the population. With the eradication of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate on the one hand, and the effective disintegration of the united Mongol empire on the other, the Mongol rulers and elite increasingly identified with the idea of the Land of Iran, *Īrān-zamīn*, as an (or even *the*) ideological basis for their rule in the country and its adjacent regions. Even if the Mongol leadership did not really believe in this principle, perhaps to its mind this might have proven an effective tool for control over the mainly Iranian population, or at least its cultural and bureaucratic elites. In this effort, certain officials and scholars (and these categories are not mutually exclusive) encouraged the Ilkhans and senior

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the Ideological Foundations of Chingis Khan's Empire," *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 7 (1973): pp. 21–36; John M. Smith, Jr., "The Mongols and World Conquest," *Mongolica*, 5 [26] (1994): pp. 206–214.

4 Thomas T. Allsen, "Changing Forms of Legitimization in Mongol Iran," in Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks (eds.), *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles: Ethnographics Press, The University of Southern California, 1991), pp. 223–41; Anne Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "Mongol Imperial Ideology and the Ilkhanid War against the Mamluks," in R. Amitai-Preiss and David Morgan (eds.), *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 57–72.

5 Allsen, "Changing Forms of Legitimation"; Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology*; Charles Melville, "Pādshāh-i Islām: The Conversion of Sultan Maḥmūd Ghāzān Khān," *Pembroke Papers*, 1 (1990): pp. 159–77; Denise Aigle, "Le légitimité islamique des invasions de la Syrie par Ghazan Khan (699–700/1300–1302," *Eurasian Studies*, 5/1–2 (2006): pp. 5–29; idem, "Ghazan Khan's Invasions of Syria. Polemics on His Conversion to Islam and the Christian Troops in His Army," in idem, *The Mongol Empire between Myth and Reality: Studies in Anthropological History* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 254–82.

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officers, making explicit in their writings the role of the Ilkhans as kings of Iran, and extolling the existence of a united *Īrān-zamīn* under their aegis. This Iranian oriented approach at political legitimation also found expression in material culture – especially in book illustration and architectural decoration.[6]

I confess, however, that I have difficulty subscribing to this view, which attributes the marked role of the Mongol leadership – rulers and others – in the adoption of Iranian motifs in order to strengthen its legitimacy, not the least in the eyes of local elites and the wider population. I recently argued that the Mongols themselves had little to do with this development, finding hardly any actual evidence that this was the case. Rather, I suggested that this was mainly the initiative of Iranian bureaucrats and writers. The Mongols surely had nothing against being portrayed as rulers harking back to older, pre-Islamic, Iranian models, but do not appear to have taken this theme too seriously and Iranians motifs were at best a side issue, even late in the Ilkhanate's history. What was important in the developing political culture of the Mongol elite was the interplay of older Mongolian motifs with the new Islamic themes.[7]

As I am aware that this position does not enjoy universal approval,[8] I thought that more research was called for. The results of this new effort are presented below, where I will go into some detail about three types of evidence that have not yet been fully exploited for the study of the Ilkhanate, certainly not for its ideological dimension: coins; inscriptions; and, Mamluk encyclopedias, chancery manuals and geographical literature. This is not to say that significant preliminary research has not been conducted in the last generation or so on these sources in with regard to the question of legitimization. Regarding the numismatic and epigraphic material, we should note the important studies

6 Dorothea Krawulsky, *The Mongol Ilkhans and Their Vizier Rashid al-Din* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag, 2011), pp. 43–51; Bert F. Fragner, "Ilkhanid Rule and Its Contributions to Iranian Political Culture," in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 68–80 (esp. 71–75). Similar sentiments are briefly expressed in Robert Irwin, *Islamic Art in Context* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1997), pp. 126–127; Charles Melville, "The Mongols in Iran," in Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 54–55; Masuya Tomoko, "Ilkhanid Courtly Life," in Komaroff and Carboni, *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, pp. 102–103.

7 Reuven Amitai, *Holy War and Rapprochement: Studies in the Relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Mongol Ilkhanate (1260–1335)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 102–105.

8 In fact, there were some animated arguments at the conference in which this paper was originally presented (not the least from some of my former students).

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by Thomas Allsen[9] and Sheila Blair.[10] In addition, Judith Kolbas has contributed much to the study of the protocol on Ilkhanid coins.[11] The Arabic writings from the Mamluk Sultanate as a source for Ilkhanid (and even Mongol history elsewhere) has also lately been receiving more attention.[12] Mamluk encyclopedias and chancery manuals were briefly cited in this connection by Dorothea Krawulsky,[13] but I will suggest another reading for this material, also widening the scope to selected geographical works. Yet more can be done with all of this material. After reviewing all of this evidence (perhaps to a wider degree than hitherto attempted), I will present some further thoughts on how we might better understand the revival of Iranian ideals during the Ilkhanate, concentrating on the role they played among the Iranian bureaucratic and intellectual elite. I hope that this will lead to a clearer picture of some aspects of the political and cultural history of the Mongol period in Middle Eastern history.

1 Numismatic Evidence

Beyond their obvious great importance for economic and monetary history, coins are highly significant to the political, social and cultural historian for the legends that they carry. Besides conveying key data on dates and mints, these texts also tell us about local and far away rulers, and can even convey terse, but key, ideological messages: what distinguishes the ruler and gives him the right to rule. Coins are the propaganda vehicle *par excellence* in the medieval world, certainly before modern communications and media.

9 Allsen, "Changing Forms of Legitimization in Mongol Iran," cited above. A preliminary review of the titles of Ilkhans, based mainly on coins, was made by Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran: Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit. 1220–1350* (4th edition, Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 224–26.

10 The relevant studies will be noted below.

11 Judith Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran: Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu 1220–1309* (London: Routledge, 2006), passim.

12 An excellent introduction to this material, not the least in connection with the history of the Mongols and their relations with the Mamluks, is in Anne F. Broadbridge, "Diplomatic Conventions in the Mamluk Sultanate," *Annales Islamologiques*, 41 (2007): pp. 97–118. For the larger subject of the use of Mamluk (and other Arabic) sources for the study of Mongol history, see the forthcoming extensive survey: Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran, "Arabic Sources for the History of the Mongol Empire," in Michal Biran and Hodong Kim (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

13 Krawulsky, *The Mongol Ilkhans*, pp. 44–45, and note 131.

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They are common, found everywhere and were to some degree or another in everyone's possession.[14]

My survey of the numismatic literature for the Ilkhanid period has been sporadic, and in any case, the publication of extant coins is far from complete. While research based on the published Mongol and Ilkhanid coinage has made important strides in recent years, there are many challenges facing both specialists and those just seeking to widen the trawl for evidence and insights from the numismatic material.[15] My intent here is try to derive some understanding from the texts on these coins, and in this I have been inspired and informed by an important study by Thomas Allsen from 1991, "Changing Forms of Legitimization in Mongol Iran," already cited at the beginning of this chapter. I have examined most of the material that Allsen used for his study, have looked at other catalogs and have taken advantage of some more recent publications. Yet, what I offer below represents only an impressionistic and still preliminary study, and I have no doubt that others will come with additional information and insights, which might well contradict my tentative conclusions.[16]

From the material that I have seen, I have found little mention of the Iranian past on Ilkhanid coins, but rather an emphasis on the traditional Mongol world

14 For what can be learnt from the texts on coins, see Jere L. Bacharach, *Islamic History through Coins: An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth-Century Ikhshidid Coinage* (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2006), pp. 3–8. See also Leonhard E. Reis, "Coins and Currency," in Josef W. Meri (ed.), *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 162–163; R. E. Darley-Doran, "Sikka," *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 591–599 (available online).

15 See the introductory comments by Steven Album to his *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, vol. 9: *Iran after the Mongol Invasion* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2001), pp. vii–xiii, esp. on p. vii: "There is surely no coinage in the world that has been less adequately studied than that of Iran from the time of the Mongols invasion to the introduction of machine-struck coinage in 1878…"; see also on p. ix: "The series of [Ilkhanid coins, RA] is immense, with perhaps as many as 20,000 or more distinct types and variants in all, one of the most extensive and varied coinages in all history …" Luckily for us in the present context, the texts on these coins are much less varied.

16 I first attempted an interpretation of numismatic data within a wider discussion of Ilkhanid political legitimacy in *Holy War and Rapprochement*, 99–100, where some of the first coins presented below were surveyed. I want to emphasize that this present chapter is far from a full-blown numismatic study, but seeks merely to extract some information from part of the legends on a sample of coins (hopefully representative), as a basis for the discussion above. I can note here that Bacharach, *Islamic History through Coins*, pp. xv–xvi, offers a caveat to drawing conclusions from an examination of a less than full corpus of a particular group of coins, or from arguing from negative evidence. I take this warning to heart, and am therefore prepared to find (or have brought to my attention) contradictory evidence in the future.

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view, as well as terms inspired by Muslim political culture, even before the conversion of the Ilkhans. True, some Persian terms appear, even early on, but these are used clearly in a Mongol context. Let us look first at some early coins starting probably not long after Hülegü entered the area. First, on a dirham (silver coin) struck in several places, where the Great Khan and his younger brother are mentioned:

> *qā'ān al-aʿẓam mūnkkā hūlākū khān*
>
> The supreme Qaghan, Möngke. Hülegü Khan.[17]

This is relatively straightforward, and reflects purely Mongol terminology. On a *dīnār* (gold coin) from AH 656/1258, issued in Mosul under the name of Möngke and the local ruler Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, we find on the obverse:

> *mankū qā'ān al-aʿẓam khudāwand-i ʿālam pādshāh-i rūy-i zamīn*
>
> Mengü (i.e. Möngke), the supreme Qaghan, ruler of the world, emperor of the face of the earth.[18]

Another interesting text is from the obverse of a dirham of Hülegü from Ḥamāh in AH 658/1260, during the brief Mongol occupation of Syria:

> *al-aʿẓam munkkā qā'ān wa-bi-saʿādatihi fātiḥ al-basīṭa akhūhu hūlākū*
>
> The Supreme, Möngke Qaghan and by his good fortune, conqueror of the world, his brother Hülegü.[19]

17 Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols in the British Museum, Classes XVIII–XXII* (vol. 6 of *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, edited by Reginald S. Poole (London: Trustees of British Museum, 1881; rpt. Bologna: Forni Editore, 1967), 8 (coin no. 8); cf. pp. 9–110, nos. 10–14: copper coins with same legend. Also cf. a dirham from 658 (mint illegible) with similar legend, but *hūlākū īlkhān*; ibid., 10–14 (nos. 15–30). Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, no. 1493 (663 AH from Mosul). There are some coins from Mosul with the following legend: *qā'ān al-aʿẓam hūlākū īlkhān al-muʿaẓẓam*; these, however, are posthumous strikes, dated to the early 670s AH; Album, op. cit., nos. 1492–1496. See also Allsen, "Legitimation in Mongol Iran," 226, citing M. A. Seifedinni, *Monetnoe delo i denezhnoe obrashchenie v Azerbaidzhane XII–XV vv* (Baku: Elm, 1978), 171–172. For a series of similar coins from Baghdad starting in 656 AH (i.e., after the Mongol conquest of the city), see Stefan Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat* (*AD 1261*)*: Vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 329–341.

18 Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat* (*AD 1261*), pp. 300–301.

19 Ibid., p. 285. A coin with this legend, struck in Damascus at this time is noted by Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran*, pp. 156–157.

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In these examples, we find clear expressions of the Mongol imperial ideology. In the first coin, we see just a direct and succinct mention of the names and titles. In the second coin, the Qaghan is the "ruler of the world" and "the emperor of the face of the earth." These are, of course, Persian expressions, and may draw their inspiration from old Iranian terminology. However, these refer to Möngke, at the height of power of the united Mongol world empire. It would certainly be far-fetched to see the Qaghan then wanting to portray himself as a newer version of an ancient Iranian Shahinshah ("King of Kings"), or drawing any inspiration or legitimation from that direction. What we seem to have is local officials (perhaps Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' himself was involved), possibly in consultation with some Persian-speaking administrators working for the Mongols who were aware of the Mongol imperial ideology, used some stock Iranian phrases to express Mongol ideas. I will return to this matter below. Interesting enough, we should note that this coin was minted in a city that was a center of Arabic language culture, and far from hitherto strongholds of Persicate culture. In the third coin there is mention of the Qaghan's "good fortune" (*saʿāda*), relating to the idea of the Heaven-granted fortune (Mongolian: *su*, Turkish; *qut*) to rule the world. Hülegü is called the "conqueror of the world," which also fits Mongol imperial ideas.

It is clear that the protocol on coins was in flux under the founder of the Ilkhanid dynasty, as were so many other matters. His son and successor, Abaqa (r. 1265–82), can be considered the institutionalizer of the Ilkhanate. Perhaps the same is true for formulae on coins. His first type harks back to the first coin that we saw for Hülegü, giving names of the Qa'an (i.e., Qubilai) and the Ilkhan Abaqa:

> *qāʾān al-aʿẓam abāqā īlkhān al-muʿaẓẓam*
>
> The Supreme Qaghan, the great Abāqā Īlkhān[20]

An expanded version is found from Mosul, from the 670s AH:

> The Supreme Qaghan, the great Abāqā Īlkhān, ruler of the necks of the nations.[21]

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20 Tuncay Aykut, "The Yapı Kredi Coin Collection." In *Ak Akçe: Mongol and Ilkhanid Coins*. (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Koleksiyonları, 1992), p. 53; Album, *Sylloge*, nos. 88, 870, 1711. Cf. Similar legend (without *al-muʿaẓẓam*) in Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, p. 20 (no. 51). Cf. İbrahim Artuk and Cevriye Artuk, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki İslâmî Sikkeler Katagoğu*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basimevi, 1974), p. 768 (no. 2206): *Mankū qāʾān al-aʿẓam abāqā īlkhān al-muʿaẓẓam.*

21 Artuk, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri*, vol. 2, p. 768 (no. 2207); Album, *Sylloge*, nos. 1497–1500. This is not the place for a long discussion, but I can note that control of "necks" (often

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Finally, we might note this issue from Yazd, AH 675:

qā'ān pādshāh-i ʿālim īlkhān al-aʿẓam abāqā

The Supreme Qaghan, the emperor of the world, Ilkhan Abaqa.[22]

We see Abaqa clearly named as *ilkhan*, with its implication of legitimacy derived from the Great Khan (referred to as the emperor of the world). The latter, it can be noted, is mentioned by title, but no longer by name. His identity, however, must have been clear to all (at least, all who mattered). The third type, which was apparently limited in its scope (I know of one example), is interesting, using an Iranian expression. However, increasingly the standard formula in Mongolian is on the reverse:

qaghanu nereber abagha-yin deledkegülüg

Struck by Arghun in the name of the Qaghan

One need not belabor the point of "Mongolness" here. This formula is used *mutatis mutandis* in various Ilkhanid coins up to the time of Ghazan, when it undergoes some changes (see below).[23] To sum up to this point: We find clear expressions of Mongol political ideas, mostly written in Arabic, with some Persian. These were plainly presented to local subjects (not only Muslims, but

physically by branding or by placing a rope with a seal around them) ties in during the early Muslim world with "conquest, captivity and humiliation"; Chase F. Robinson, "Neck-Sealing in Early Islam," *JESHO*, 48, no. 3 (2005): pp. 401–441 (quote from p. 417). The expression *mālik riqāb al-umam* is used on occasion in royal Mamluk epigraphy. See, e.g., an inscription of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn from AH 717 (1317–8) in Baalbek; Étienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget, Gaston Wiet et al. (eds.), *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* [henceforth: *RCEA*], vol. 16 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1931–), pp. 118–19 (no. 5386).

22 Album, *Sylloge*, no. 1662. In the translation, I have tacitly transferred *al-aʿẓam* to the Qaghan; one cannot imagine it being applied to the Ilkhan.

23 Michael Weiers, "Münzaufschriften auf Münzen mongolischer Il-Khane aus dem Iran, Part One," *The Canada-Mongolia Review*, 4, no. 1 (April 1978), pp. 41–62; Album, *Sylloge*, p. xxvi, nos. 487–489, 1222; Atef Mansour M. Ramadan, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen: Naysābūr, Sabzawār, und die Münzstätten in Ǧuwayn*. XIVa: *Ḫurāsān* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag Tübingen, 2012), pp. 12, 24, 73; Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Mongol Coins*, 19 (no. 48) Lane-Poole. For further uses of this Mongolian phrase, see also Allsen, "Changing Forms of Legitimation," pp. 237–9.

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also Christians, Jews and even others), along with citations of Muslim formulae that reflect long-term numismatic conventions. Iranian terms were used in two cases, but conveyed the Mongol idea of world conquest and rule. The last-mentioned motif is brought home by the use of an inscription in Mongolian, which was clearly intended for a Mongol audience.

There are no radical changes in the coinage of Aḥmad Tegüder (1282–4), even if this Ilkhan came to the throne as a Muslim and made his religion one of the mainstays of his policy, which finds brief expression in his coinage.[24] One type carries this Mongolian legend:

qaghanu nereber amad-un deledkegülüg

Struck by A[ḥ]mad in the name of the Qaghan

Another type is also in Mongolian, but with the name given in Arabic script: *al-sulṭān aḥmad*. A third type has a short text only in Arabic:

qāʾān al-aʿẓam aḥmad īlkhān

The Supreme Qaghan, Aḥmad Ilkhan.[25]

This is all very straightforward: Mongol titles are given in both Mongolian and Arabic, but we see also an Islamic Arabic title: *al-sulṭān*.

The titles on Arghun's coins are not different. Some carry Mongol legends:

qaghanu nereber arghunu deledkegülüg

Struck by Arghun in the name of the Qaghan

while others have Arabic:

24 John A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns," in *CHI*, vol. 5: *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 364–68; Reuven Amitai, "The Conversion of Tegüder Ilkhan to Islam," *JSAI*, 25 (2001): pp. 15–43 [reprinted in R. Amitai, *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands: Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate* (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

25 Allsen, "Changing Forms of Legitimation," p. 228; Michael Weiers, "Münzaufschriften," p. 52; Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Mongol Coins*, 24 (no. 59); Ramadan, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen*, pp. 12, 24, 74.

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qāʾān al-aʿẓam arghūn īlkhān

The Supreme Qaghan, Arghun Ilkhan[26]

Not surprisingly, we do not find the title *al-sulṭān* in his coins. Here we are thirty years after the functional disintegration of the united Mongol empire and the emergence of the Ilkhanate in Greater Iran, and we have found one Persian title (noted above for Abaqa), used in a clearly Mongol context; we have yet to see any reference to Iranian forms of legitimization.

Perhaps the matter will change with Ghazan, not the least since he also reformed the coinage.[27] Some early issues from Azerbaijan contained phrases echoing one of Abaqa's issues noted above:

pādshāh-i jihān sulṭān-i aʿẓam, qazān maḥmūd

Ruler of the world, the Supreme Sultan, Ghazan Maḥmūd

pādshāh-i aʿẓam sulṭān maḥmūd, ghāzān khān

Supreme ruler, Sultan Maḥmūd, Ghazan Khan[28]

We have here a Persian expression, perhaps with hints of Iranian ideas, and the next phrase in the first coin (*sulṭān-i aʿẓam*) is a Persian construct. We may also note that the Qaghan is no longer mentioned.[29] This Iranian character, however, is not found in this 699 AH dirham from Konya:

26 Allsen, "Changing Forms of Legitimation," pp. 228–9; Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Mongol Coins*, pp. 25–31 (nos. 60–84); Ramadan, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen*, pp. 12, 24, 74.

27 On the monetary reform, see Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, pp. xi–xii; Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran*, pp. 310–355.

28 Seifedinni, *Monetnoe delo i denezhnoe obrashchenie v Azerbaidzhane*, p. 226; Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran*, pp. 299–300, and pp. 302–303 (Kāshān, Iṣfāhān, etc.). For the first legend, cf. Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, no. 1502 (Mosul, 695 AH): *sulṭān al-aʿẓam, ghāzān muḥammad*. Kolbas, op. cit., p. 305, notes the "fleeting" nature of "Ghazan's flirtation with Persian culture as a means to impress and secure obedience." See also Allsen, "Changing Forms of Legitimation," p. 230.

29 The dispensing with mention of the Qaghan is noted by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, ed. Lech, p. 19. This author, however, exaggerates when he states that the Qaghan's representative was no longer honored. Actually, it was quite the opposite, as we know from the case of Bolad Ch'eng Hsiang (Pūlād Chīsānk), viceroy of the Qaghan, and other ongoing

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khān-i aʿẓam qāzān [sic] *sulṭān maḥmūd*

Supreme Khan, Ghazan, Sultan Mahmud[30]

Be this as it may, Ghazan's coins soon took on a clear Mongolian flavor. As part of the overall monetary reform noted above, his coins henceforth carried a formula on the obverse mostly in Mongolian, also without mentioning the Qaghan:

tengri-yin küčündür ghāzān maḥmūd deledkegülüg

By the power of Tengri, Ghazan Maḥmūd. Struck by Ghazan.

The only concession to this ruler's recent conversion to Islam (and his Persian and Arabic speaking subjects) are these two words in Arabic script: *ghāzān maḥmūd*.[31] No more is heard of the Persian expression, and the ideals that it may have conveyed.

Maybe we can hope for more from Öljeitü (r. 1304–16), who as we will see, inserted some Iranian titles into one of his inscriptions. Sheila Blair has shown that basically this ruler's coins can be divided into two types:

al-sulṭān al-aʿẓam ghiyāth al-dunyā wa'l-dīn khudābandah muḥammad

The Supreme Sultan, Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Khudābandah Muḥammad

ḍuriba fī ayyām dawlat al-mawlā al-sulṭān al-aʿẓam mālik riqāb al-umam ūljāytū sulṭān ghiyāth al-dunyā wa'l-dīn khudābandah muḥammad

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connections with him; see Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 31–34, 72–80.

30 Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, no. 1091; Artuk, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri*, vol. 2, p. 774 (no. 2224), but with *ghāzān*. Cf. ibid., p. 775 (no. 2227): *Khāqān* [sic] *aʿẓam qāzān sulṭān maḥmūd*. No photograph of this coin is provided, and I assume that the first word is a mistaken reading for *khan*. See also Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran*, pp. 298–299, for variations on this them, also from the northwestern part of the Ilkhanate.

31 Sheila Blair, "The Coins of the Later Ilkhanids: A Typological Analysis," *JESHO*, 26, no. 3 (1983): pp. 295–297; Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran*, pp. 323–34; Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Mongol Coins*, pp. 34–41 (89–119); Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, p. xxxvi and *passim* (index); Ramadan, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen*, pp. 8, 13, 24, 74.

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> Struck in the days of the reign of the Lord, the Supreme Sultan, ruler of the necks of the nations, Öljeitü, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Khudabāndā Muḥammad.[32]

The only thing Iranian in these texts is one of Öljeitü's name, Khudabāndā. Given the inscription at Bisṭām (see below), we might have expected more. Finally, we should look at the coins of the last significant Ilkhan, Abū Saʿīd (r. 1316–35). Two prevalent formulae are:

> *ḍuriba fī dawlat al-sulṭān al-aʿẓam mālik riqāb al-umam īlkhān ʿālim abū saʿīd*
>
> Struck in the reign of the Supreme Sultan, ruler of the necks of the nations, the learned Ilkhan, Abū Saʿīd.
>
> *ḍuriba fī dawlat al-sulṭān al-aʿẓam īlkhān al-muʿaẓẓam abū saʿīd*
>
> Struck in the reign of the Supreme Sultan, the great Ilkhan, Abū Saʿīd.[33]

At times, the moniker Bahādur Khān is added after his name, and on occasion, Abū Saʿīd is rendered as Busaida in Mongolian script.[34] One cannot help but note that again there is a lack of any references to Persian terms or Iranian motifs here.

Overall, the Iranian terms and themes appear sporadically and in an inconsistent manner over 75 years of Ilkhanid coins, and no particular pattern regarding them can be discerned. The infrequency of Iran-inspired titles and related sobriquets should be noted: were these motifs truly important from an early stage would we not expect to find them circulating on a regular basis on coins during the time of Abaqa and his immediate successors, Aḥmad Tegüder and Arghun? What we mainly get instead is a short phrase in Mongolian,

32 Blair, "The Coins of the Later Ilkhanid," pp. 299–301; see also Allsen, "Changing Forms of Legitimation," pp. 231–232; Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Mongol Coins*, pp. 44–61 (nos. 126–170); Ramadan, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen*, pp. 8, 13–14, 24, 75–76.

33 Allsen, "Changing Forms of Legitimation," p. 302; Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Mongol Coins*, pp. 65, 74 (nos. 175, 219); Ramadan, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen*, pp. 9, 14, 24–26, 76. See the extended discussion in Blair, "The Coins of the Later Ilkhanid," pp. 301–313.

34 Thus in some dinars and dirhams: Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Mongol Coins*, pp. 64, 69–71, 79–80 (nos. 173–174, 197–209, 238ff.); Ramadan, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen*, p. 9 (type H); p. 14 (nos. 49–50), p. 26 (nos. 162–169).

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referring to the Qaghan and to the reigning Ilkhan. With Ghazan the reference to Qaghan was dropped, yet a Mongolian inscription remained, along with Ghazan Maḥmūd in Arabic characters. In some of his early issues, we get some Iranian titles, but I think this is weak evidence for a theory of Iranian-inspired ideology of political legitimacy. Even this all but dries up during Ghazan's later reign and at the time of his successors. Perhaps, we will have more luck in the corpus of inscriptions, invariably in Arabic, from Ilkhanid Iran and the surrounding land.

2 Epigraphy

The underlying assumption here is that royal epigraphy reflects how the leadership wants to be perceived, and projects a certain vision of power and authority, thus contributing to the legitimation effort. I am not claiming that the text of each inscription was composed by the ruler, but there was most probably a correlation between his thoughts and what appeared in stone. Unlike coins, inscriptions can be quite detailed, full of official titles and less formal descriptions (changing from inscription to inscription, although patterns develop. In addition, there could be much historical detail (dates, purpose of building, names of patrons and officers/officials carrying out the work, names of professionals from the construction trade, and more, not the least the occasional *waqf* document and other edicts), along with appropriate Qur'anic verses and other literary additions. Coins are certainly more popular and widespread than inscriptions, but a large corpus of inscriptions would certainly have had also an impact on how ruling authority was seen, especially when found on impressive and important constructions. This is exactly the case of the Mamluk Sultanate, where hundreds of sultanic inscriptions throughout its territory, from the first decades of its history, project a strong image of power and piety. This image was backed up by many hundreds of inscriptions from officers, not all senior.

Unfortunately, the state of Ilkhanid epigraphy is different. The researches of Donald Wilber from more than sixty years ago showed that there is little extant royal construction by the Ilkhans up to the reign of Ghazan, although mention should be made of the observatory at Marāgha and the summer palace of Takht-i Sulaymān; there are no extant royal inscriptions from this period (although see below for the inscriptions at the last mentioned location).[35]

35 Donald N. Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Il Khānid Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 100: From about 1260 through the 1290s there

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Things change with the accession of this Muslim ruler, but there are to the best of my knowledge no surviving inscriptions. Under Öljeitü and Abū Saʿīd this building momentum continues, but we only have few royal inscriptions, some of which will be discussed below.[36]

I have identified exactly one Ilkhanid inscription with some substantial reference to this ancient, pre-Islamic past. This is from Bisṭām, at the tomb of Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī, from AH 713/1313–14; here is the relevant part of the text:

> *Fī dawlat al-sulṭān al-aʿẓam* shāhinshāh *al-muʿaẓẓam sulṭān al-salāṭīn*[37] *al-ʿarab wa'l-ʿajam, sulṭān arḍ allāh, nāṣir al-dīn, ḥāfiẓ … al-dunyā wa'l-din, ghiyāth al-islām wa'l-muslimīn, aʿdal al-mulūk wa'l-salāṭīn, iskandar al-thānī,* khusraw īrān *sulṭān ūljāytū muḥammad Khudābandah khān …*
>
> In the reign of the supreme sultan, the great *shāhinshāh*, the sultan of the sultans of the Arabs and Persians, sultan of the land of Allah, the helper of the religion, guardian … of [this] world and the religion, the succor of Islam and the Muslims, the most just of kings and sultans, the second Alexander, the *Khusraw of Iran*, Sultan Öljeitü Muḥammad Khudābandah Khān …[38]

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were some 15 building projects initiated in Iran, most of them of a religious nature. For Marāgha, see ibid., pp. 107–108 (no. 9); for Takht-i Sulaymān, see ibid., 112 (no. 15) and below. On page 14, Wilber mentions some no longer extant construction works of Arghun, noting: "Arghūn also constructed a fortified entrance to the fantastic natural mountain fortress of Kelat-i-Naderi in Khurāsān where, according to Curzon, 'a fine inscription on a smoothed surface of rock upon the right-hand wall of the defile beyond the gate records this act of the sovereign.'" We can only regret that this inscription appears not to have survived, and no details are given by his source: George N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, vol. 1 (rpt. Abington, UK: Frank Cass & Co., 2005, of London: Longmans, Green, 1892), p. 128.

36 From about 1300 to the end of the Ilkhanate in 1335, about 70 construction projects were noted by Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran*, pp. 100–104. Almost all of these were of a religious nature. See also Amitai, *Holy War and Rapprochement*, p. 107, and literature cited there.

37 Something is clearly amiss in the wording here: the definite article *al-* is superfluous in *al-salāṭīn*. I note in an inscription on a brass bowl of this sultan: *malik mulūk tawā'if al-ʿarab wa'l-ʿajam*; *RCEA*, 14: p. 113 (no. 5377). See also the inscriptions cited in notes 41, 44 and 45 below.

38 *RCEA*, 14: pp. 80–81 (no. 5328). Emphasis added. The fact that sultan or its plural is found five times in these lines indicates that the author of this text was also certainly trying to make another point – a clearly Islamic one – in this inscription. For *ʿajam* in the sense of Persian, see below.

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This is a remarkable, and singular, inscription, with Muslim, Mongol and Iranian motifs woven together into one list of titles and sobriquets. "Khusraw[39] of Iran" is particularly important, with its explicit mention of the country. There is no denying, however, that its singular nature means that its impact, and thus importance, were limited.[40] Other extant inscriptions mentioning Öljeitü, say from Tokat in AH 704/1305 (*fī ayyām dawlat sulṭān salāṭīn al-ʿālim sulṭān muḥammad ūljāytū khan* "in the days of the regime of the sultan of sultans, the scholar, sultan Muḥammad Öljeitü")[41] or Erzurum AH 710/1310–11 (*fī ayyām dawlat sulṭān al-aʿẓam ūljāytū* "in the days of the regime of the supreme sultan Öljeitü")[42] do not say anything reminiscent of Old Iran. An inscription from the great mosque of Iṣfahān form AH 710/1310 only gives a very minimalist list of titles for this Ilkhan, just Sultan and then his *laqab* (honorific), Giyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn and one other description: *ẓill allāh fī al-araḍīn*: "the shadow of God on the lands." This is short and to the point, and very Islamic.[43]

For that matter, the few inscriptions of Abū Saʿīd are also innocent of any hint of the country's pre-Islamic past. Thus, his inscription at Warāmīn from AH 722/1322–3 goes as follows:

> *fī ayyām dawlat al-sulṭān al-muʿaẓẓam* khāqān *al-aʿẓam mālik riqāb al-umam, mawlā salāṭīn al-ʿarab wa'l-ʿajam, abū* [*sic*] *saʿīd bahādur khān*

39 Khusraw is not being used here as a proper name, but rather as a general appellation for kings of ancient Iran. See below for a further discussion.

40 Cf. the inscription from 708/1308–9 on the nearby mausoleum tower in Bisṭām, which has only one Iranian reference, *shāhinshāh*, while the rest of this long inscription is made up of traditional titles and descriptions found on late medieval Muslim epigraphy, as well as some Mongolian inspired monikers: *khān b. khān*, and "sultan of the Land of the East and China (*al-ṣīn*)." Sheila S. Blair, "The Inscription from the Tomb Tower at Bisṭām: An Analysis of Ilkhanid Epigraphy," in C. Adle (ed.), *Art et société dans le monde iranien* (Paris: Institut Français d'Iranologie de Téhéran, 1982), pp. 263–86. Blair writes (p. 279): "Many of the titles [on this inscription, RA] reflect the gradual Persianization of the Mongol sovereigns." Perhaps this is overstating the matter: most titles on this and the 1313–4 inscription are common to Muslim epigraphy in this period, not only in Iran, and there are still plenty of titles inspired by the Mongol heritage of the rulers.

41 *RCEA*, 13: p. 256 (no. 5178).

42 *RCEA*, 14: pp. 48–49 (nos. 5276–8). I will just add that these are remarkable inscriptions, with information about the economic basis of an endowment, ultimately deriving from revenues provided by the late Ilkhan Ghazan and his wife Bulughan Khatun.

43 Max van Berchem, "Une inscription du sultan mongol Uldjaitu," in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg (1844–1908)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1909), pp. 367–378; *RCEA*, 14: pp. 50–51 (no. 5279).

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> In the days of the reign of the glorious sultan, the most powerful *Qaghan*, ruler of the necks of the nations, lord of the sultans of the Arabs and Persians, Abū Saʿīd *Bahādur* ("the hero") *Khan*.[44]

We can see that the road to the increased usage of Iranian expressions of political legitimacy, let alone growing Persianization, was a bumpy one, and the process was not consistent. Interestingly enough, Abū Saʿīd is referred to here as *khāqān*, that is *qaghan*, the supreme Mongol ruler. Might this be some *en passant* reference to the ideological breakdown of the façade of Mongol unity? Bahādur (< Mongolian *baghatur*) Khān also clearly has Turco-Mongol provenance.[45] Overall, we might note again the use of ancient Iranian titles is spotty and inconsistent. Öljeitü may have well been behind the formulation of the inscription at Bisṭām, or least gave it his tacit agreement, but this one-time appearance of Persian terms cannot hardly be construed as an ideological program nor part of a sustained effort at gaining legitimation among Iranian elites or wider swaths of the population that hark back to Old Iran.

3 Mamluk Chancery Manuals, Encyclopedias and Geographical Works

Up to now we looked at evidence, mostly in Arabic, that was from the Ilkhanate itself. Here we will examine material from the Mamluk Sultanate, which may reflect what was going on among the Mongols east of the Euphrates. As noted above, the rich and varied Mamluk sources are replete with information dealing with the Mongols in general, especially regarding the Ilkhanate, the most serious – even existential – enemy that the Sultanate faced in the early decades of its existence.

The purpose of chancery manuals was to provide instructions on how to prepare documents, providing examples and templates for the would-be and even accomplished official, along with general information about state administration.[46] Such works provide some precious information on

44 *RCEA*, 14: pp. 184–185 (no. 5478); emphasis added. The expression *mawlā salāṭīn al-ʿarab wa'l-ʿajam* strengthens my suggestion in note 38 above. On this site, see also Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran*, pp. 158–159 (no. 66).

45 A similar inscription from this ruler is found in a mausoleum in Marāgha without an extant date: *RCEA*, 14: pp. 249–250 (no. 5566), with the expression *sulṭān salāṭīn al-ʿarab wa'l-ʿajam*, yet a further confirmation for my suggestion in note 38.

46 Broadbridge, "Diplomatic Conventions," p. 98, and pp. 99–107 for a discussion of Mamluk chancery manuals. The Mamluk Sultanate, of course, was not the only Muslim state to

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Mamluk-Ilkhanid relations, including examples of real correspondence between the two powers. Our goal here, however, is to look for what they might say about how Iran and its past were perceived in the Ilkhanate.

I have examined three Mamluk chancery works with this in mind: 1) *Al-Taʿrīf fī al-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf* by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 1349);[47] 2) *Kitāb tathqīf al-taʿrīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf* by Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad al-Taymī al-Ḥalabī, known as Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh (d. 1384);[48] and 3) *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī sināʿat al-inshā* by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAli al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418).[49] The first two are one volume works, relatively straight-forward. The last mentioned, comprising fourteen volumes, is really a chancery manual and encyclopedia rolled into one.

I will also refer to two other encyclopedias composed in the first half of the fourteenth century in the Mamluk Sultanate.[50] The first, the 33-volume *Nihāyat al-ʿArab fī funūn al-adab*, was written by the Egyptian Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī (d. 1333); some 120 pages from volume 27 are devoted to the Mongols.[51] The second work, *Masālik al-abṣār wa-mamālik*

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produce such work. For this genre and the context in which such works were written, see Hans R. Roemer, "Inshāʾ," *EI2*, vol. 3, pp. 1241–4 (also available online); Jürgen Paul, "Enšāʾ," *EIr*, vol. 8, pp. 455–7 (also available online). A comparative study of chancery manuals and methods throughout the Medieval and Early Modern Islamic world is a desideratum.

47 Two editions are referred to here, as both are cited by scholars: a) Cairo, al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿĀṣima, 1312/1894; b) Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1408/1988, edited by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn.

48 Ed. Rudolf Veselý (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1987).

49 Two editions are also used here: a) Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Khidiyawiyya, 1913–22/1331–1340, reprinted Cairo: Wizārat al-Thiqāfa wa'l-Irshād al-Qawmī, 1963; b) Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma li'l-Kitāb, 2006, edited by Muṣṭafā Muḥammad Mūsā.

50 For the phenomenon of Arabic encyclopediaism in the Mamluk Sultanate, see Elias Muhanna, "Encyclopaedias, Arabic" *EI3*, 2015–2 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 90–94 (also available online). More specifically for the material discussed here, see idem, "Why was the 14th Century a Century of Arabic Encyclopaedism?" in Jason König and Greg Woolf (eds.), *Encyclopaedias and Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 243–356.

51 This work was published from 1923 to 1997 by various editors in different publishing houses. Vol. 27 was edited by Saʿīd ʿĀshūr, and was published in 1405/1984 by al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma li'l-Kitāb. The section on the Mongols is on pp. 300–420. On this, see the recent doctoral dissertation: Anna Katharina Angermann, "Das Unfassbare fassen und zu Geschichte formen: An-Nuwayrīs *Ḏikr aḫbār ad-dawla al-ǧinkizḫāniyya*. Überlegungen zu Entstehung, Gestalt und Sinn" (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhems-Universitäts, 2016); also idem, "Kompilation als narrative Strategie. Eine exemplarische Untersuchung von Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad an-Nuwayrīs 'Mongolengeschichte'," in Stephan Conermann (ed.), *Innovation oder Plagiat?: Kompilationstechniken in der Vormoderne*. (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2015), pp. 127–166. See also Reuven Amitai, "Al-Nuwayri as a Historian of the Mongols," in Hugh Kennedy (ed.), *Historiography of Islamic Egypt* (*c.950–1800*) (Leiden: Brill, 2001),

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al-amṣār, is by the already mentioned Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī. This has recently been published in 27 volumes,[52] but I will refer here to the excellent 1968 edition of the section on the Mongols (also about 120 pages of printed text) prepared by Klaus Lech, with a careful translation into German, a long and detailed introduction, and copious notes.[53]

Let me start with the earliest of these chancery works, that of Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī, the *al-Taʿrīf fī al-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, where we find the chapter entitled: "The Greatest of the Kings in Iran and Turan, and what is adjacent to them from the eastern lands, from the banks of the Euphrates to the rising of the sun." This begins:

> Know that Iran is the land of the Chosroes (*akāsira*), and it [stretches] from the Euphrates to the Oxus River (Jayḥūn) around Balkh, and from the Persian Sea and what precedes it from the Indian Sea, until the Sea known as the Qalzum (i.e., the Caspian), the Sea of Ṭabaristān. It is the kingdom that belongs to the House of Hülegü.[54]

The author then continues with some details of the regions included in this kingdom. The use of Akāsira, the plural of Kisrā, derived from the name Khosrau/Khusraw (often rendered as Chosroes in English), used here as a general term for the pre-Islamic kings of Iran (possibly referring more specifically to the Sassanian dynasty),[55] is noteworthy, as is the geographical term Iran, which is not frequently encountered in late medieval Arabic texts. Our author continues: This is how the Mongol leader of this state was to be addressed in letters, at least until the death of Abū Saʿīd:

> The Noble, High, Sultanic, Supreme, *Shahinshahic*, Unique, Brotherly, Khanic Excellency, "So-and-so" (*al-ḥaḍra al-sharīfa al-ʿāliyya al-sulṭāniyya*

pp. 23–36 [reprinted in Amitai, *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands*]. More generally, see Elias Muhanna, *The World in a Book: Al-Nuwayri and the Islamic Encyclopedic Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

52 Edited by Kamāl Salmān al-Jubūrī and Mahdī al-Najm (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2010). These 27 volumes were issued in 15 parts (i.e., most of which contain 2 volumes).

53 Published as *Das Mongolische Weltreich: al-ʿUmarīs Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fī ʾl-mamālik al-amṣār*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968. This parallels the al-Jubūrī and al-Najm edition, 3: pp. 89–185.

54 Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf*, edn. 1894, 42; edn. 1988, p. 65.

55 Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (rpt. Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1980 of London: Williams and Norgate, 1863–93), vol. 7, pp. 2612a–b; Michael Morony, "Kisrā," *EI2*, vol. 5, pp. 184–5 (available online).

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al-aʿẓamiyya al-shāhinshāhīyya al-awḥadiyya al-akhawiyya al-khānyya al-fūlāniyya).[56]

The use of the term derived from Shahinshah, "King of Kings" or more simply "Emperor," is also certainly important in the current discussion.

Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, in his *Kitāb tathqīf al-taʿrīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, clearly had Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī's text in front of him, but made some changes. Under the chapter title "The Kings of the East," he discusses two kingdoms: "The Kingdom of the Chosroes (*akāsira*), this is Iran that belongs to the House of Hülegü, and the Kingdom of Tūrān that is the kingdom of the Qaghans (*al-khāqāniyya*), the land of Chinggis Khan." He continues: During the reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (1310–1340), the ruler of Iran was the Khan (*al-qān*) Abū Saʿīd (until his death in 1335).[57] This is how the last mentioned, or rather his successors, was to be addressed in letters:

> The Noble, High, Sultanic, Supreme, Learned, Just, Perfect, Qagahanic *Shahinshahic*, Son-like, Mighty, Royal Excellency "So-and-so" (*al-ḥaḍra al-sharīfa al-ʿāliyya al-sulṭāniyya al-aʿẓamiyya al-ʿālimiyya al-ādiliyya al-akmaliyya al-qāʾāniyya al-shāhinshāhīyya al-waladiyya al-ʿazīziyya al-malikiyya al-fūlāniyya*).[58]

A generation or so has passed between Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh and al-ʿUmarī, and some interesting changes and additions are found in the newer model letter to the Ilkhanid ruler. Most importantly was that *al-ḥaḍra al-waladiyya* had replaced *ḥaḍra al-akhawiyya*, i.e. "the Brotherly Excellency" has been demoted to "the Son-like (or even child-like) Excellency," reflecting the dramatic weakening of the Ilkhanate after Abū Saʿīd's death, as perhaps also the fact that the official rulers were indeed young, and certainly without real power.[59] Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh had also added the expression *al-malikiyya*, which al-ʿUmarī specifically noted was **not** to be used (as it was considered demeaning for a ruler of the first-rank). Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh still has the important *al-shāhinshāhiyya* is still found, but there is an interesting change: instead of *al-khāniyya*, we now

56 Ibid., edition 1894, p. 44; edition 1988, p. 67. Emphasis added.

57 Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, *Kitāb tathqīf al-taʿrīf*, p. 9.

58 Ibid., p. 10. Emphasis added.

59 Broadbridge, "Diplomatic Conventions," p. 108, writes that from the mid-1330s, "Ilkhanid rulers in Iran suddenly became supplicants to the Mamluk sultan, rather than his near-equals; this new political imbalance was clearly expressed through significant changes in diplomatic protocol."

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have *al-qā'āniyya*. This latter is derived from *qā'ān*, the Persian and Arabic form of *qaghan* (reflecting that the inter-vocalic gh/q was not pronounced in Mongolian), often rendered as *khāqān* (as earlier in the chapter, see above). The Qaghan, of course, was not just a local ruler, but rather the emperor, and there could be just one in the Mongol *oikumene*.[60] Whether this is an inadvertent mistake, or reflects changing nomenclature and political claims among the post-Mongol states of Iran and the neighboring countries remains unclear. I can suggest is that this was some form of error, perhaps reflecting the fading memories of the Ilkhanate at its height.

In his grand encyclopedia *cum* chancery manual *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī sināʿat al-inshā*, al-Qalqashandī writing in the early fifteenth century separates the geographic description of the Ilkhanate from how correspondence to its ruler should open. In his fourth volume, this author writes: "On describing the kingdoms of the sons of Chinggis Khan, divided into two parts, i.e. two kingdoms. The first kingdom is the kingdom of Iran." The author notes that this is the "Kingdom of the Chosroes (*mamlakat al-akāsira*)." There follows a survey of the provinces of the Ilkhanate, long defunct, most of it based on *Masālik al-abṣār wa-mamālik al-amṣār* by Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī; this dependency is clearly stated by the author.[61]

In the seventh volume, al-Qalqashandī provides the opening titles to be used in a letter to the Ilkhan.

> The Noble, High, Sultanic, Supreme, Shahinshahic, Unique, Brotherly, Khanic, Excellency, so-and-so (*al-haḍra al-sharīfa al-ʿāliyya al-sulṭāniyya al-aʿẓamiyya al-shāhinshāhīyya al-awḥadiyya al-akhawwiyya al-khānyya al-fūlāniyya*)[62]

In short, we have the exact order and content of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *al-Taʿrīf*. This should not surprise, as he says that this is his source, and therefore this need not detain us. In any case, the Ilkhanate was long gone by al-Qalqashandī's time, with only memories remaining. If anything, in the realm of foreign affairs the attention of the Mamluk leadership was now preoccupied by the Timurids.[63]

60 Lawrence Krader, "Qan-Qaγan and the Beginnings of Mongol Kingship," *CAJ*, 1, no. 1 (1955), pp. 17–35; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Lech, p. 171 (in notes).

61 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī sināʿat al-inshā*, edition 1913–22, vol. 4, pp. 213–214; edition 2006, vol. 4, p. 316.

62 Ibid., edition. 1913–22, vol. 7, p. 250; edition. 2006, vol. 7, p. 278. Emphasis added.

63 It is beyond the scope of the present chapter to look at how the Timurids were reflected in Mamluk chancery writing, but see Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology*, pp. 168–197.

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Let us have a quick look at the two Mamluk encyclopedias that we mentioned above. With regard to the section devoted to Mongol history in the *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-arab* by al-Nuwayrī (about a third is devoted to the first Mongol campaigns in the Middle East and another third to Hülegü and his descendants), I will just briefly note that neither Īrān nor the title *shāhinshāh* are used in this work, while other titular terms (*khān* and *sulṭān*) and geographic names are found: all the territories of Hülegü (and by implication, of his successors) are dutifully and carefully noted, but no hint of the word Īrān is found.[64] On the other hand, the Mongol section of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār wa-mamālik al-amṣār* has more specific references to the pre-Islamic heritage of the country: about a quarter of this 116-page text is devoted to the Ilkhanate, or as he calls it "The Kingdom of the Iranians: Iraq, 'Persia' and Khurāsān" (*mamlakat al-īrāniyyīn wa-hiya al-ʿirāq wa'l-ʿajam*[65] *wa-khurāsān*).[66] In his subsequent description, al-ʿUmarī notes that "in [that kingdom] there is the throne of the Chosroes (*al-akāsira*) until Islam gained control of it …"[67] There is no mention of *shāhinshāh* or a derivative from it in this context, although we have seen that the same author does note it in his chancery manual. Elsewhere in this Mongol section, al-ʿUmarī devotes two chapters to the territories controlled by the Jochid Khans (i.e., the so-called Golden Horde) and the Chaghatayid Khans, which together he refers to as the lands controlled by the "Turanians" (*fī tūrāniyyīn*).[68] This too is a throwback to an earlier Iranian term for the steppe lands to the north of Iran, Turan, which is frequently contraposed to Iran, and later is associated with the Turks of that area. We can remember that Iran and Turan were both used by al-ʿUmarī in his chancery manual.[69]

The use of the geographical term Iran and Tūrān, and the titles for rulers *akāsira* and *shāhinshāh* in these works from the Mamluk Sultanate, the first of which were written in the late thirties and late forties of the fourteenth century,

64 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 27, pp. 392–393.

65 For *ʿajam* in the sense of Iranians or Persians, see Francesco Gabrieli, "ʿAdjam," *EI2*, vol. 1, p. 206 (available online).

66 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Lech, pp. 85–116.

67 Ibid., p. 85.

68 Ibid., p. 35.

69 Krawulsky, *The Mongol Ilkhans*, pp. 44–45, writes "The Mamluk rulers of Syria and Egypt were not only acquainted with the official name Iran for Mongol Persia, which they used in their correspondence, but likewise with the name Turan, this being in the Shahnameh the name for Transoxania, the kingdom and enemy of Iran beyond the Oxus." She cites both the Lech edition of al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik* and his *Taʿrīf* (edition Cairo 1984, to which I did not have access) for this. She is, however, attributing perhaps too much importance to such expressions in these Mamluk texts, as we will see below.

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may reflect the reality of the late Ilkhanate (especially the reign of Abū Saʿīd, 1316–35), conveyed to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī *inter alia* by learned men and officials from the Ilkhanate immigrating to the Sultanate. This flow began in earnest in the early 1320s with the Mamluk-Ilkhanid peace, and intensified after the collapse of the Ilkhanid in 1335. Lech, in his introduction to the edition of the section of the *Masālik al-abṣār*, has shown how many of these scholarly immigrants, some of them with bureaucratic experience, directly influenced the writing of al-ʿUmarī.[70] This writer is clearly the source for both Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh and al-Qalqashandī, so the thread of information is clear enough.

Let us look at another genre of writing under the Mamluks: descriptive and scientific geographical literature.[71] A good place to start is the geographical work by al-ʿUmarī's older contemporary, the Ayyubid prince al-Malik al-Muʾayyad ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī (d. 1331), who ruled Ḥamāh as a Mamluk vassal. Abū al-Fidāʾ, as he is usually known today, was also an author of some repute, composing the chronicle *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*[72] and the geographical work *Taqwīm al-buldān*. In the latter work, the long section devoted to the territories that comprise Iran, neither the term *Īrān* nor Iranian regal terms are given. In fact, each province of Iran is described separately, starting with Khūzistān and ending Khurāsān and Khwārazm. There is no sense of Iran as a whole, a feeling that is strengthened when in the midst of this survey, chapters are inserted devoted to Hind, Sind, China and even "Islands of the Eastern Sea."[73] In his chronicle, Abū al-Fidāʾ devotes a long section to "the Kings of the Persians" (*mulūk al-furs*), and at times we find the expression "the Kingdom of Persia" (*mamlakat al-fārs*) and "the people of Persia" (*ahl al-fārs*), along with other uses of the name *al-furs*. There is, however, no example of the name Iran nor the ancient Iran titles for rulers noted above. There is plenty of information here about the ancient Iranians, but they are constantly referred to as Persians.[74] It is clear that information regarding

70 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Lech, pp. 29–41 (Introduction to German section).

71 We still lack a reasonable survey, let alone a deep study, of the geographical literature of the Mamluk period, in spite of a relatively large corpus of texts.

72 For a translation of the last part of this work, contemporary to the author's life, see Peter M. Holt. *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince: Abu'l-Fidāʾ, Sultan of Ḥamāh (672–732/1273–1331)* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983); the introduction contains a concise biography of this figure.

73 Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Kitāb Taqwīm al-buldān*, ed. M. Reinaud and M. MacGuckin de Slane, *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1840).

74 Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, ed. Muḥammad Dayyūt, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1997), pp. 69–94. Krawulsky, *The Mongol Ilkhans*, p. 45,

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the country, specifically the name Iran and the royal titles, did not reach Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī from Abū al-Fidāʾ.[75]

However, his contemporary, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī (d. 1327), in his *Kitāb nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿajāʾib al-barr waʾl-baḥr* mentions and explains the expression Īrānshahr, the pre-Islamic name for the land of Iran, translating *shahr* as *balad*.[76] The name of the country Īrān is explained as deriving from the name of one of the sons – called Īrān or Īraj – of Afrīdūn (or Farīdūn), mythical ruler of ancient Iran. No connection with Mongols here. Elsewhere in this work, there is a short description of the countries conquered by the Mongols; the regions of Khurāsān, Fārs (the intention in this context is to the province and not the whole country), Jibāl (here given as Bilād al-Jabal), Azerbaijan, Arrān, Armenia (in the Caucasus, not Cilicia), and what was in their environs, and later Iraq and Syria.[77] The name Iran is nowhere to be found in this section, and likewise there is no mention of the title Shāhinshāh.

Let us go back another century or so, from before the Mamluks, and for that matter, before the Mongol conquest of Iran. In the comprehensive geographical dictionary of Yāqūt b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥamawī (d. 1229), *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, there is some discussion of Īrān and Īrānshahr. He too gives different genealogies of "Īrān," eponymous founder of the kingdom (and people), and cites the names of earlier Arab authorities, including the famous al-Balādhurī (d. 892).[78] Again we do not see any mention of *shāhinshāh*. Elsewhere, he has a short

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note 131, refers to the 1968 Cairo edition of this work, which was not available to me, using this as another example of Mamluk awareness of the Iranian consciousness of Ilkhanate. While I cannot check this particular reference, I found no relevant evidence when I read this other edition. In fact, at the end of his chapter, Abū al-Fidāʾ explicitly states that he derived his information from earlier Arabic authors, and thus it has nothing to do with the influence from the Ilkhanate during the time of Abū al-Fidāʾ.

75 Although there is a possibility that al-ʿUmarī used the geography of Abū al-Fidāʾ for his section on the Mongols; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Lech, pp. 21–22 (Introduction to German section).

76 Published as *Cosmographie de Chems-ed-Din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimashqui*, ed. A. F. Mehren (St. Petersburg: Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, 1866), p. 255. Fārs and Furs, also mentioned here; cf. p. 247, where he uses the term Fārs instead of Iran.

77 Ibid., pp. 264–5.

78 Published as Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Jacut's geographisiches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1866–73), pp. 417–8; see also: Charles Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et des contrées adjacentes, extrait du Moʾdjem el-bouldan de Yaqout, et complété à l'aide de documents arabes et persans pour la plupart inédits* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Impériale, 1861), pp. 63–64.

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mention of Tūrān, whose ruler is referred to as *tūrānshāh*.[79] We clearly have then evidence of a long chain of information about ancient Iran (and Turan), reaching from the high ʿAbbasid period, up at least to the early thirteenth century, and then continuing to the first third or so of the fourteenth century in the Mamluk Sultanate (al-Dimashqī). This parallels another line of information on the same topic leading up to Abū al-Fidāʾ.

A third line of information begins with Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī, writing just a decade or two later after al-Dimashqī and Abū al-Fidāʾ. As has been noted before, al-ʿUmarī's had oral informants about the Mongol regime in Iran (and beyond), who arrived in the Mamluk Sultanate before and after the breakup of the Ilkhanate around 1335. From them he might have heard about the use of the word *shāhinshāh*, and perhaps also from correspondence that he might have seen or learned about as a highly placed official. He could have picked up from these oral sources the geographic terms Iran and Turan, although we should note that both of the geographical terms are found in earlier Arabic works with which he may have been familiar. Then of course, there was the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī, to which he directly refers and was probably orally translated for him.[80]

In al-ʿUmarī's work, then, there indeed are some echoes of Iranian terms being used in the Ilkhanate. While local geographical writing in Arabic might have prepared him for the use of Iran and Turan in the Ilkhanate, the appearance of a term based on *shāhinshāh*, can apparently be explained as a direct influence from the East at some point during the Ilkhanid period.

4 Further Evidence (and Lack Thereof)

In spite of the attested frequent correspondence between Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Ilkhan Abū Saʿīd, no actual letters between these two have come down to us, neither embedded in chronicles, encyclopedias nor chancery manuals. We can only assume that the open titles presented by Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī in his *Taʿrīf* reflected the reality that developed in the aftermath of the Mamluk-Ilkhanid peace of 1323. To the best of my knowledge, in the summaries of the letters presented in the chronicles there is not a hint of allusions

79 Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, p. 892. This short entry has some interesting information about the etymologies of both Īrān and Tūrān. Already in the twelfth century (and maybe before), Tūrānshāh was used on occasion as a private name among Muslim princes, including among the Ayyūbid scions.

80 Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī, ed. Lech, pp. 4, 7, 13 (Arabic text), and p. 22 of introduction.

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to ancient Iran. Likewise, there are no full texts for letters with the Sultan during the reign of Öljeitü, and nothing to imply a use of Iranian imagery.[81] As is well known, we have several letters that went back and forth between Ghazan and the then boy sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in the years after the Mongol victory at Wādī al-Khaznadār in December 1299. As far as I can see, there is certainly not a word there that hints at a recourse to Iranian forms of legitimization or identity.[82] Likewise, there is none of this in the various proclamations and orders that we have from the short Mongol occupation of Damascus in 1300.[83] The extant letters of Aḥmad Tegüder, Abaqa and Hülegü are also a disappointment in this sense.[84] There are many references to Mongol grandeur and Chinggisid legitimacy (with allusions to the heaven-given mandate), and in Tegüder's and Ghazan's cases, firm allusions to Islamic rights to rule. We find plenty of deprecations of the Mamluks, noting their slave origins, their misdeeds and their general moral turpitude. Yet, there is nothing here about Iran, nor a connection between the country's present rulers and those pre-Islamic predecessors from six-seven centuries before. The Mamluk responses are not surprisingly also devoid of such references. I do not attribute too much importance to the lack of Iran-related images and terms in this decades-long correspondence, as a lack of evidence, of course, is far from convincing. One might also claim that the discussion of the Mamluk-Ilkhanid correspondence is basically irrelevant, since the Ilkhans and their officials would not have much, if any, interest in projecting Iranian forms of legitimacy to the people of Syria, or the Mamluks who ruled over that country along with Egypt. True, but I think that the absence of such mention certainly does not strengthen the case of those believing in a strong Iranian inspired legitimation effort adopted by the Mongol elite, nor weaken my argument that this was not the case.

Yet, there is another type of negative evidence, certainly more relevant to our concerns here. These are proclamations in the name of the Mongol ruler himself, written in Persian, and presumably intended for a wide audience, certainly among bureaucrats and other members of the governmental and

81 Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology*, pp. 94–131; Reuven Amitai, "The Resolution of the Mongol-Mamluk War," in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (ed.), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2005), pp. 359–390 [reprinted in Amitai, *The Mongols in the Islamic World*].

82 Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology*, pp. 80–93.

83 Ibid., pp. 73–80.

84 Ibid., pp. 27–50. While we do not have full texts of the letters exchanged between Geikhatu Ilkhan (r. 1291–5) and Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl (r. 1290–3), the passages cited do not hint at any Iranian imagery. See also Reuven Amitai, "An Exchange of Letters in Arabic between Abaγa Ilkhan and Sultan Baybars (A.H. 667 / A.D. 1268–9)," *CAJ*, 38 (1994): pp. 11–33 [reprinted in Amitai, *The Mongols in the Islamic World*].

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civilian elite of the Ilkhanate. The intention here is to the texts of Ghazan's orders for many reforms in various matters, conveniently collected by Rashīd al-Dīn in his chronicle. While there is legitimate doubt regarding the degree to which these orders were carried out, there is little questioning that they are authentic texts.[85] I think that it is instructive that there is no mention of the terms Īrān or *Īrān-zamīn* in these dozen or so proclamations, as well as the title Shāhinshāh. The ruler is referred to as Sulṭān or *Pādshāh-i Islām*. Perhaps one might see the first part of the latter expression as some unequivocal evocation of ancient Iran, but it seems to me that this was a clear reflection of Muslim legitimacy, as is Sultan.[86] These documents were aimed at a wide audience, the perfect vehicle to push a would-be Iranian-style legitimation effort, but they were not exploited in the least for this purpose. One wonders, then, if such a goal actually existed among the Mongol leadership.

May I be allowed one more form of negative evidence, perhaps more grist for the mill? It is striking that until the very last Ilkhan (until the breakup of the state after 1335), all these rulers have Mongol names, with the exception of the last who carries an Arabic one (and Turco-Mongol nickname: Bahādur Khān); Mongolian and Arabic names continue in the subsequent decades, during the interregnum before Tamerlane's rise to power. This all contrasts starkly with the private names of many of the Seljuks of Rum: Kay-Khusraw, Kay-Qubādh and Kay-Kā'ūs (along with Turkish and Arabic names). Perhaps in Seljuq Rum, we might suggest some identity with pre-Islamic rule (of nearby Iran!) and an attempt at legitimization through the use of names. Nothing of the sort with the Ilkhans.

All of the above discussion does not mean that Iranian imagery and terms were not floating around in the Ilkhanate, even early on. There are dozens of citations of the *Shāhnāmah* by Juwaynī in his *Tārīkh-i jihāngushā*. In other Persian historical and literary writings, Mongol rulers are portrayed as ancient Iranian kings.[87] Then, there is the well-known case of Takht-i Sulaymān. This remarkable complex is located in Azerbaijan, about 100 km south-east of

85 David O. Morgan, "Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb," *EI2*, vol. 8, pp. 458–459 [available online].

86 RD/Jahn, pp. 218–309; RD/Thackston, pp. 700–739.

87 Charles Melville, "From Adam to Abaqa: Qāḍī Baiḍawī's Rearrangement of History," *Studia Iranica*, 30, no. 1 (2001): pp. 67–86; 36, no. 1 (2007): pp. 7–64, see especially pt. 1, p. 84; pt. 2, p. 18; Allsen, *Conquest and Conquest*, p. 32; Assadullah S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Conscience du passé et résistance culturelle dans l'Iran mongol," in Denise Aigle (ed.), *L'Iran à la domination mongole* (Teheran: Institut Français de Rechereche en France, 1997), pp. 135–177, brings numerous examples from the contemporary Persian poetry.

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Marāgha.[88] Here I will just note again that the place is covered with many citations (some with changes) from the *Shāhnāmah*, evidently picked by historian and administrator ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī (d. 1283) – perhaps in cooperation with his brother Shams al-Dīn (d. 1285), head minister of the Ilkhanid state – during the reign of Abaqa (1265–82) or Aḥmad Tegüder (1282–84).[89] These texts from the *Shāhnāmah* can easily be seen as references to Iran's current Mongol rulers, connecting them to the splendor of ancient Iran, and hinting at their "taming" (as had happened to Tūrān in ancient times) and then integration into the flow of Iranian history. To literate Iranian observers this would have helped to explain the coming of the Mongols and their rule over the country, strengthening Mongol legitimacy in local eyes and extolling the Iranian heritage.

I doubt, however, that the Mongols initiated this, and it is unclear to me even how much they encouraged it. Yet, let us assume for a moment that one of the early Ilkhans had partial or full responsibility for picking the decor of Takht-i Sulaymān, including the many texts from (or based on) the *Shāhnāmah*. If this were the case (and it is not a small "if"), then possibly we have a window unto this Ilkhan's mind, or at least how he thought to have himself presented. Yet, it is unclear what was the propaganda impact of a location off the beaten track on wider circles of the Iranian bureaucratic and intellectual elite, let alone on the larger population. This was a singular artistic project, not a campaign seeking widespread legitimization, Iranian or otherwise.

5 Discussion and Conclusions

Old, pre-Islamic motifs regarding Iran and kingship were circulating in the Ilkhanate in scholarly, official and artistic circles, most surely with renewed

88 Sheila Blair, *Text and Image in Medieval Persian Art* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 138–140; Dietrich Huff, "The Ilkhanid Palace at Takht-i Sulayman: Excavation Results," in Komaroff and Carboni, *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, pp. 92–110; Masuya Tomoko, "Ilkhanid Courtly Life," pp. 84–103; Melikian-Chirvani, "Conscience du passé et résistance culturelle"; Amitai, *Holy War and Rapprochement*, pp. 103–105.

89 With regard to the role of Juwaynī (or the Juwaynīs), I am following Melikian-Chirvani, "Conscience du passé et résistance culturelle," pp. 151–2, 155–163. This is not the place to fully engage this detailed, erudite and wide-ranging article, but I will mention here some of the other important points made by Melikian-Chirvani: 1) The pivotal time of the construction of this project, especially the decor, is the reign of Tegüder Aḥmad (1282–84), and not Abaqa (1265–82). 2) More important than the Iranian "national" aspects of this project (referred to here as anachronistic), are Sufi inspired ideas, which hark back to esoteric motifs from pre-Islamic Iran. 3) That being said, towards the end of the article, the synthesis of Mongolian and Iranian ideals in late Mongol and post-Mongol Iran is raised.

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vigor compared to earlier periods. The breakdown of old political frameworks, not the least the demise of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate in Baghdād, and the unification of territory that more-or-less replicated the scope of the Sassanian Empire surely permitted and encouraged this trend. Thus, Monika Gronke has written in measured tones:

> It is historically noteworthy that after these centuries, under the Mongol Ilkhans, particularly already in the early chronicles of the epoch, the name "Iran" emerged again as a political notion and a conception of the state. This has to do with the fact that the end of the Caliphate of Baghdad coincided with the collapse of the universal Islamic state, so that other ideas of power could come into effect.[90]

Yet, from the three types of documentation that might reflect what the Ilkhans and their inner circle were thinking – royal correspondence, inscriptions and coins – which have been presented above, we find no evidence of a conscious, let alone concerted, policy to adopt the name Iran "as a political notion and a conception of the state," becoming a major ideological prop of the regime. What we do see is some occasional, mostly haphazard, mentioning of this or that phrase that echoed Iran's pre-Islamic past. I find it difficult to see how this was conceived by the *Mongol* leadership to bolster their legitimacy in Iranian eyes. Perhaps one might find some hint of this in the patronage of the occasional construction and cultural project, but this patronage is often far from explicit.

What we do have is the harping of learned Iranian bureaucrats and other contemporaneous writers on this theme, perhaps to justify their own participation in the Mongol governing project, or to rationalize this long-term episode in Iranian history. This is in itself an important aspect in the intellectual, cultural and even political history of the country, but it should not be confused with the aims and activities of the Mongol ruling elite, at least as long as the united Ilkhanate was in existence. For the Mongol governing class of Mongols, led by the Ilkhans, the regime in Iran and the surrounding countries based itself on the two legs of Mongol imperial ideology and Islamic political practice. The desires and hopes of learned Iranians, no matter how important, should not be confused with the worldview of the ruling elite of steppe origin, not even in its efforts to achieve more political legitimacy.

90 Monika Gronke, *Geschichte Irans: Von der Islamesierung bis zur Gegenwart*, 3rd edn. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), p. 56.

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I would like to emphasize the role that Iranian bureaucrats and other local cultural and intellectual actors played in highlighting these Iranian motifs, referring to two relatively recent articles. The first is by the late lamented Thomas Allsen, "A Note on Mongol Imperial Ideology" (2009), where he noted the adoption under the Mongols of "Persian political vocabulary and political culture and the extent of their compatibility with steppe terms and traditions."[91] Allsen concentrated on two terms used inter alia by the senior administrator and historian ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī, *farr* and *dawlat*. The former can be translated as "splendor" and "royal glory," while the latter (derived from the Arabic *dawla*) has a wider semantic field: "rotation, change of dynasty, good fortune, dynasty, regime" and today "state."[92] He notes how literate Iranian Muslims, "employed by the Mongols and thoroughly conversant with their political institutions," equated "the special good fortune of the Chinggisids with that of the storied Iranian rulers of yore."[93] Besides showing this adoption and application of Persian vocabulary to render Mongol political ideas, Allsen also emphasizes that the agents of this process were Iranians: These "gave those who wanted to work for the [Mongol] empire an acceptable rationale for doing so and, at the same time, encouraged passive acceptance of their rule on the part of the majority who did not."[94]

The role of Iranian "advisors and servants" to the Mongols, trying "to get their masters to embrace these [Iranian] traditions as part and parcel of their territorial conquest," is also examined by Charles Melville in a 2013 article on "The Royal Image in Mongol Iran."[95] This wide-ranging, yet detailed and subtle study makes clear more than once that it was not necessarily the Mongols themselves that stand behind the use of Old Iranian images and ideas to justify

91 Thomas T. Allsen, "A Note on Mongol Imperial Ideology," in Volker Rybatzki, Alessandra Pozi, Peter W. Geier and John R. Krueger (eds.), *The Early Mongols: Language, Culture and History. Studies in Honor of Igor de Rachewiltz on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday* (Bloomington: Indiana University, The Denis Sinor Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2009), pp. 1–8, here p. 6.

92 For the development of the term *dawla*, see Moshe Sharon, *Black Banners from the East: The Establishment of the ʿAbbāsid State: Incubation of a Revolt* (Leiden: Brill and Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1983), pp. 19–27. I have defined the term a little differently from Allsen.

93 "A Note on Mongol Imperial Ideology," p. 6.

94 Ibid., p. 7.

95 In Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville (eds.), *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval World* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 323–369, citation from p. 348. In this article, Melville modifies the view expressed in the article cited above in note 6, which attributed much of the initiative of the adoption of Iranian political motifs to the Mongol leaders themselves.

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Mongol rule in the region: "[I]n their appropriation of the literary vocabulary of pre-Islamic [Iranian] kingship, the Mongols (or rather, their advisors) were following a well-established model, which had been honed to a high polish in the Seljuq period, and was now absorbed into the historiographical works of the Il-Khanid era."[96]

The importance of bureaucracies for the running of an efficient and long-standing state, let alone empire, was noted by Max Weber.[97] Later, S. N. Eisenstadt developed this theme in his seminal study of empires.[98] More recent research has redirected this emphasis, looking also at the role of local elites and other intermediaries, among them bureaucrats, for the successful long-term operation of a far-flung empire, including in a Middle Eastern context.[99] Certainly, the key role of local bureaucrats in the operation of the Ilkhanate – be it the central administration or in the provinces – has long

96 Ibid., p. 365. For the Seljuq precedence, see pp. 360–362; cf. Amitai, *Holy War and Rapprochement*, p. 108.

97 Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, 324–351; on p. 333: "The type of rational, legal administrative staff is capable of application in all kinds of situations and contexts. It is the most important mechanism of everyday profane affairs. For in that sphere, the exercise of authority and more broadly, imperative coordination, consists precisely in administration." Of course, much of Weber's discussion is based on the type of bureaucracies that he encountered in his own time, and thus imperfectly fits those of the medieval Middle East, including the Ilkhanate. Yet, he does write of "patrimonial bureaucracy" (p. 335), and his discussion of "traditional authority" (pp. 341–351) is useful in this connection.

98 S. N. Eisenstadt, *The Political System of Empires* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1963), pp. 16–22. On pp. 28–29 there is a very short discussion of the Mongol empire, yet unfortunately, neither the united empire nor its successor states are greatly appreciated.

99 Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 1–22 (esp. 13–14); Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 1–27 (esp. 13, 20). It would surely be a salutary exercise to reexamine in light of these studies the central Ilkhanid bureaucracy, as well as that in the provinces and other local elites. Burbank and Cooper (pp. 93–115) provide a short, interesting analysis of the Mongol empires (note the plural), but with a very perfunctory discussion of the bureaucracy, be it of the united empire or the Ilkhanate. Barkey's concept of an ongoing negotiation process of political leadership with central administrators and provincial elites (political, bureaucratic and otherwise) could be fruitful in the Mongol context. Yet her use of the term "negotiation" to describe the ongoing dynamic relationship between rulers and local and bureaucratic elites conveys perhaps too much agency for the latter in the Mongol context; certainly the Mongols generally had the last word in such "negotiations." This does not mean, however, that Persian-speaking bureaucrats were without influence and a voice; surely, they had room to shape an image of their Mongol overlords that fit their own cultural heritage and worldview.

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been noted by scholars.[100] Most of these bureaucrats were Persian speakers, with a good knowledge of Arabic, although in Iraq, there may have been many with only a knowledge of the latter language. To this must be added various Muslims and others from Central Asia, and even the occasional Mongol. These last categories mentioned are not our focus here, but rather the Iranians, surely the mainstay of the Mongol civil administration in this Middle Eastern polity. This is not the place for a detailed discussion on this bureaucracy, but I will just note that this substantial group of men would surely have wanted to justify their working for the Mongols – who had originally wreaked much havoc in the Muslim world – to themselves, their contemporaries, and their progeny and successors. It is difficult to conceive most people defending actions only in terms of survival and self-interest, but rather they would seek to show how they are really acting for the greater good, be it the family, locale, religious community or even on occasion for an ethnic or national group.[101] One early theme of acceptance of Mongol rule by Iranians and other Muslims was Islamic: on the one hand the Mongols were sent by God to punish the wayward Muslims, and on the other, were performing great services to Islam and the believers. Juwaynī, in his *Ta'rīkh-i jahnāngushā*, relates the words of Chinggis Khan to the people of Bukhara that he was sent by God to chastise the Muslims. Another interesting theme, to which Juwaynī already gives expression, was that under the Mongols, Islam has spread. Paradoxically, then, the original destructive invasions by the infidel Mongols led in the long run to the strengthening of

100 For the bureaucracy and religious elites of the Ilkhanate (and before), see Ann K. S. Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History, 11th and 14th Century* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 1988), pp. 297–327; Jean Aubin, *Émirs mongols et vizirs persans dans les remous de l'acculturation* (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 1995). Important information is also found in Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, pp. 235–263.

101 I do not use these terms lightly for the pre-modern world, but there is no denying a sense of ethnic identity and solidarity at times, and perhaps even a sense of peoplehood. For *jinsiyya* (ethnic identity and solidarity) among medieval Turks and Mongols, see David Ayalon, "The European-Asiatic Steppe: A Major Reservoir of Power for the Islamic World," *Proceedings of 25th Congress of Orientalists – Moscow, 1960*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoy literatury, 1963), pp. 47–52; idem, "Aspects of the Mamlūk Phenomenon, Part II: Ayyūbids, Kurds, and Turks," *Der Islam*, 54, (1977): pp. 1–32 [both reprinted in D. Ayalon, *The Mamlūk Military Society* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979)]. For Iranian identity in the Islamic middle ages, see Susanne Enderwitz, "al-Su'ūbiyya," *EI2*, vol. 9, pp. 513–516 (also available online); Ahmad Ashraf, "Iranian Identity iii. Medieval Islamic Period," *EIr*, vol. 13: pp. 507–522 (also available online). See particularly the section "The Idea of 'Iran' under the Mongols and Timurids." See also Wilferd Madelung, "The Assumption of the Title Shāhānshāh by the Būyids and the 'Reign of the Daylam (*Daylam al-Daylam*)'," *JNES*, 28, no. 2 (April 1969), pp. 84–108.

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Islam and the Muslim community. Finally, at the end of his book, the author notes the wonderful thing that Hülegü did for the Muslims by extirpating the Ismāʿīlīs (i.e., the Assassins).[102] Of course, with the conversion of the Ilkhans and the Mongol elite (as well as the tribesmen), this lauding of the Mongols in an Islamic mode was made that much easier, as one sees in the works of Rashīd al-Dīn and others, who approached this matter with some gusto.

A second theme was Iranian, calling on pre-Islamic visions of Iran and its royal glory, mediated by Muslim writers, most importantly Firdawsī in the *Shāhnāmah*. These ideas and expressions, applied from the beginning of the Ilkhanate era (ca. 1260), and maybe even earlier – in the time of the united empire, apparently provided both solace for the disruption of life in Iran and its environs by the Mongols and justification for the bureaucrats having hitched their star to the Mongolian wagon. The Mongol leadership surely did not initiate this process, but mostly certainly accepted its expression without too many (or any) difficulties. There is little indication that they themselves had any deep interactions with these ideas, but certainly saw no harm in their being lauded as ancient Iranian rulers over a reunited *Īrān-zamīn*.

This paper has surely not exhausted the study of all ideological themes that were current in the Ilkhanate and every legitimation strategy employed there by the Mongols and local elites. One might consider the idea of the "Circle of Justice" that has been surveyed and analyzed by Linda Darling, subjecting it to a wider and more thorough examination for the Ilkhanate period.[103] A second motif was particularly Mongolian, seemingly enjoying a certain revival under Ghazan: the phrase "By the Power of Tengri" (*tengri-yin küčündür*) appeared on coins; this term was rendered in Arabic as *bi-quwwati allāh*, as in proclamations and letters. Here we see a nice, but not always clear, equivalence between Tengri and Allāh; the former word perhaps still had the meaning "Heaven,"

102 Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, vol. 1, pp. 9–10, vol. 1, p. 82, vol. 3, p. 278; Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 13–15, p. 105, p. 725. For more on how Juwaynī enthusiastically presents the Mongols as good for Islam, see George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 183–194. Juwaynī skirts the potentially difficult issue of the Mongol conquest of Baghdād and the execution of the last Caliph by stopping his account before this event. See also Ayalon, "The European-Asiatic Steppe," p. 51.

103 Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 103–112. To my mind, in her wide-ranging and stimulating study the author attributes too much importance of this idea in the Ilkhanate. Perhaps it was significant to some senior Iranian bureaucrats, but I remain unconvinced that this had much impact on the Mongol leadership.

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while increasingly taking on the sense of "God."[104] Finally, we can also think of expressions of the grandeur of the Mongol rulers, perhaps tapping in on the wider currents of political imagery beyond that of the Iranian world, for example, stories that derive from legends of Alexander the Great.[105]

To sum up: for the Mongol leadership of the Ilkhanid, the two major motifs of legitimation were (first) the Mongol imperial ideology, and (then, together with it) Islamic political thinking. For the Iranian bureaucrats and scholars, there were also terms and ideas with political and cultural implications that harked back to Iran's pre-Islamic past. It was, however, only wishful thinking on their part that these would be adopted by the Mongol elite, as is that of modern scholars who wish to apply it as a leitmotif of the political culture of the Mongol regime in Iran and the surrounding countries.

6 Postscript

After this paper went to press, I was able to read the new article by Jonathan Brack, "A Mongol Mahdi in Medieval Anatolia: Rebellion, Reform, and Divine Right in the Post-Mongol Islamic World," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 139/3 (July–Sept. 2019), 611–629. This important article shows in different ways how Islamic approaches to political legitimization, new to the Mongol elites in Iran, were welded to the traditional forms of justifying and expressing political authority. Various forms of this cultural and intellectual hybridity were to characterize post-Ilkhanate Iran and the neighboring regions. Little is said of the Iranian motifs in this mix. Dr. Brack has used a whole bevy of different sources than I employed in my paper, but it seems to me that his conclusions are not dramatically different than mine.

104 Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran*, pp. 323–325, 355. We should note, however, that by now, Tengri may have taken on a double meaning: still referring to the "sky-god" of the traditional Steppe religion and as a synonym for Allāh. On this, see Amitai, "An Exchange of Letters," pp. 21–22. The translation of Tengri by Allāh goes back to the tenth century at least; see Reuven Amitai, "Towards a Pre-history of the Islamization of the Turks: A Re-reading of Ibn Fadlān's *Riḥla*," in Étienne de la Vaissière (ed.), *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale. Processus locaux d'acculturation du VIIe au XIe siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 2008), p. 286. Cf. the modern Turkish Tanrı (<Tengri), a synonym for Allāh. There is, however, no doubting the Mongol origins of the phrase *bi-quwwati allāh*.

105 Denise Aigle, "Transformation of a Myth of Origins, Genghis Khan and Timur," in idem, *The Mongol Empire between Myth and Reality*, 129–130; Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, pp. 108–109.

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CHAPTER 9

Arrowheads of Hülegü Khan: Envoys and Diplomacy in His Invasion of the Middle East, 1255–1262

Naʿama O. Arom

At the gathering near Kökö Na'ur, when Temüjin was named Chinggis Khan, four men were appointed to be his trusted envoys.[1] According to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, he said to them thus, "Be my far-flying shafts, be my near-flying arrows!"[2] Years later and miles away, as his grandson Hülegü rode at the head of his army to conquer the lands across the Āmū Daryā, envoys and diplomacy were used as the arrows in Hülegü's quiver.

Following his campaigns against the Nizārīs of Alamūt, the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, al-Nāṣir Ayyub in Syria and the Mamluk sultans of Egypt, this chapter will track the changing forms and effects of Hülegü's diplomacy and delineate his larger diplomatic moves. The first part of this chapter will focus on the war against the Nizārīs, and the Caliph; in light of Hülegü's diplomacy, an explanation will be offered for the destruction of these two powers, despite earlier contacts each had with the Mongols. The second section of the chapter will discuss Hülegü's unfinished campaign to conquer Syria and Egypt. During its early stage (1258–1260), which will be briefly discussed, Hülegü's diplomatic activity seemed to alter, consisting of missives in Arabic that were heavily based upon Mongol imperial ideology. The death of the Qa'an and the eruption of inter-Mongol warfare will be the focus of the third section as it led to another shift in Hülegü's diplomacy – the overture further west, to the king of France. New insights emerge when Hülegü's letter to Louis IX is viewed not as a part of Mongol contacts with Christendom but rather as a part of Hülegü's ongoing diplomatic efforts with western powers, Muslim and Christian alike. Based upon the analysis of these diplomatic moves, the chapter's conclusion

1 This chapter originates in a paper presented in the conference *New Directions in Ilkhanid History*, National University of Mongolia, 2014; and was further developed as a part of a dissertation written in the Hebrew University, Israel, under the supervision of Prof. Amitai. I'm happy to thank Prof. Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan for a great conference, and Profs. Amitai and Biran, for advice, inspiration and support.

2 *SHM* §124. Also see Igor de Rachewiltz, ed. and trans., *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1: p. 51, fn. 3.

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will address the question of who directed these moves, and what role did the advisers play at Hülegü's court in prompting his western policy.

1 Quhistān and Baghdād

Hülegü's Middle Eastern campaign brought a violent end to two very different powers in the region – the Shīʿī sect of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Quhistān (literally, "Land of Mountains") in eastern Iran, and the ʿAbbāsid Caliph in his capital of Baghdād, the official center of a once-united Sunnī Muslim Empire, nominally recognized even though his authority was long gone. Many contemporary authors, Sunnī and Shīʿī alike, writing under Mongol rule as well as far beyond its borders, described the original target of Hülegü Khan as the land of the Nizārīs. His campaign against the Caliph was seen as an unfortunate development, one that could and should have been prevented. The eminent scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī remarked that Hülegü set out to the "land of the heretics" (*bilād-i malāḥida*), while noting that it was the internal strife in the Baghdādi leadership that caused the eventual fall of the Caliph.[3] ʿAtā Malik Juwaynī, followed by Rashīd al-Dīn – both great historians and Ilkhanid administrators – claimed that Möngke Qa'an ordered Hülegü to destroy the Nizārī strongholds, but not to harm the Caliph, "unless his heart and tongue are not one."[4] This might be discarded as pro-Hülegüid propaganda written by Ilkhanid court historians; yet Minhāj al-Dīn Jūzjānī, writing in the Delhi Sultanate, similarly observed that Hülegü set out against the Nizārīs following Möngke's orders, while his war on Baghdād was the result of the intrigues launched by the ʿAbbāsid *wazīr* and the Christians of the city.[5] The encyclopedist and administrator al-ʿUmarī, writing in the Mamluk Sultanate, agreed that the Nizārīs were the primary aim of the Mongol forces (along with Kurdish highwaymen), while the campaign against Baghdād was Hülegü's own venture.[6]

Yet claiming that the conquest of Baghdād was not intended is as problematic as stating that the Nizārīs were the only aim of Hülegü's campaign. According to the *Secret History*, composed in the mid thirteenth century, Baghdād was seen as a legitimate aim for conquest as early as 1221: "Here in the west there is one called the Qalibai Soltan of the Baqtat people. Let us move

3 Ṭūsī/Qazwīnī, pp. 280–81; Ṭūsī/Boyle, pp. 151–53.

4 Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, vol. 3, p. 275; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 723. RD/Karīmī, vol. 2, p. 687; RD/Thackston, p. 479.

5 Jūzjānī/Lees, p. 414 (for the Nizārīs) and pp. 424–25 (for Baghdad); Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 1193–96 (for the Niẓārīs) and pp. 1232, 1234–35 (for Baghdad).

6 ʿUmarī/Lech, p. 17.

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against him!"[7] This proclamation was made to Chinggis Khan by three of his quiverbearers; one of them, Chormaqan, would eventually be sent westward by Ögödei Qa'an – not against the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, but against his enemy, Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh. Chormaqan's forces remained in Iran long after Jalāl al-Dīn's demise;[8] following the rise of Möngke Qa'an in 1251, Baiju Noyan assumed command of this force.[9] After arriving in Iran, Baiju is claimed to have reported that Baghdād was not yet taken due to its vast army and the country's difficult roads.[10] It thus appears that the atmosphere between Baghdād and the Mongols was tense even before Hülegü's arrival.

The Nizārīs had maintained early contacts with the Mongol forces as well, and these were not at all negative. In a thorough analysis to the early Mongol-Muslim contacts, Peter Jackson counted them among the numerous Muslim elements who approached the Mongols long before Hülegü's intervention. According to the Ismāʿīlī compendium of poems *Diwān-i qā'imiyyāt*, Nizārī relations with Chinggis Khan were initially amiable;[11] Juwaynī went as far as describing the leader of Alamūt, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 1221), as the first ruler south of the Āmū Daryā to offer his submission to the Mongols.[12] Ibn al-Athīr mentioned a later contact, ca. 1230, in which the Nizārīs incited the Mongols against their bitter enemy, Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh.[13] They were not the only ones to do so; given the many local enmities, various elements considered the Mongols an ally against foreign enemies or internal threats. Jackson thus concluded that Mongol activity could appear as a "welcome intervention" in existing local conflicts.[14] It appears that Hülegü was taking the same approach on a greater scale; and it was against this explosive background that he struck his first spark.

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7 Shortly after the fall of Gurganj in April 1221; see *SHM*, §260.

8 John Andrew Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans," in *CHI*, vol. 5, pp. 334–35.

9 RD/Karīmī, 2: pp. 684–85; RD/Thackston, pp. 477–78.

10 In Mustawfī Qazwīnī's *Ẓafarnāmeh*, Baiju's report reached Mongke's court in or shortly after 648 H (1251–2); see Mustawfī/Ward, pp. 4, 9–10. Rashīd al-Dīn included this remark in a conversation between Baiju and Hülegü when the latter left Hamadan, in March 1257; see RD/Karīmī, 2:697; and RD/Thackston, 486–87.

11 The *qaṣīda*s of Ḥasan Maḥmūdī Kātib; see Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World: From Conquest to Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 91.

12 Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: p. 248; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 703; see also Jackson, *Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 74.

13 Following Jalāl al-Dīn's defeat in Yasi-chemen; see Jackson, *Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 91.

14 Jackson, *Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 92.

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From his camp near Kīsh on the northeastern bank of the Āmū Daryā, Hülegü issued a single message distributed as many decrees (*yarlīgh'hā*), addressing "the monarchs and sultans of Iran." Among the sources used in this study, this is the earliest mention of a diplomatic contact Hülegü initiated with the rulers southwest of the Āmū Daryā. Its contents are referred to by al-Ṭūsī, and described by Rashīd al-Dīn:[15]

> We are on campaign to eradicate the strongholds of the heretics (*malāḥadāt*) and to drive out that people, by the authority of the decree (*yarlīgh*) of the Qa'an.[16] If you come yourselves and assist us with soldiers, weapons, and provisions, then your lands, troops, and homes will remain yours, and your efforts will be appreciated. If you ignore this command, then when we are finished with them, by the power of God the Most High (*bi-qovat-i khudā'i ta'āli*),[17] we will head straight for you – and no excuse will be accepted – and your land and homes will meet the same fate as theirs.

This was no occasional message; nor was the camp near Kīsh a mere rest stop. Arghun Aqa of the Oirat, who was in charge of the Mongol administration of the lands southwest of the Āmū Daryā since 1243/4,[18] arrived at Hülegü's camp, accompanied with "all the grandees and nobles and ministers of Khorasan"; they paid homage to Hülegü and remained there for a month, during which time he issued these decrees.[19] The pause near Kīsh served two purposes. Its public aim is thoroughly described by George Lane: an interlude in Hülegü's voyage to his new kingdom, intended for the purpose of receiving tribute and pledges of loyalty from local nobility. In contrast with the terror tactics of Chinggis Khan and Tolui, Hülegü was able to command the deference of many of the Iranian nobility through a demonstration of grandeur.[20] A second, covert purpose, was to make an intensive study of the area and its atmosphere. The decree issued by Hülegü near Kīsh made use of existing social fissures in

15 RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 688; this translation slightly differs from Thackston's (cf. RD/Thackston, p. 480).

16 Cf. Thackston: "by command of the Qaan."

17 Cf. Thackston: "by God's grace."

18 Arghun Aqa was sent west before 1241. He remained an important administrator under Hülegü and Abaqa until his death in 1275. See Peter Jackson, "Argun Aqa," *EIr*, originally published 15 December 1986, last updated 12 August 2011, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/argun-aqa-a-mongol-administrator-in-iran-d-1275.

19 RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 688; and RD/Thackston, p. 480.

20 G. Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (London: Routledge-Curzon, 2003), p. 21.

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the land he was about to invade. Using the "heretics" as the intended target of his campaign could create a common ground with every Sunnī (and most Shīʿī) leaders in the area; Hülegü could thus attract local support and prevent the various Muslim forces from uniting against him. The reactions to his decree would also provide an outline of the political map of the land southwest of the Āmū Daryā: of the possible supporters and troublemakers; the lines between the loyal and the rebel – the *el/īl* and the *bulγa/yāghī*. As a part of the world-view of a divinely empowered universal Mongol Empire, rebel people were all those who had not yet submitted to Mongol authority.[21] The division of *il* and *yāghī* would henceforth underlie Hülegü's contacts westward. From this perspective, the decree of 1255 resulted in the eventual definition as rebels of both the Nizārīs – the obvious target – and the Caliph, who ignored the command to assist. The war against the Nizārīs therefore formed not only the first stage of Hülegü's campaign, but an essential one – a basic step in his invasion of the lands beyond the Āmū Daryā.

At the beginning, all seemed to comply: dignitaries flowed to Hülegü's camp in Kīsh to signal their acquiescence; the Caliph, according to Ṭūsī, reported his cooperation as well. Even the young leader of the Nizārīs, Rukn al-Dīn Khwurshāh, sent word of his immediate submission.[22] He was less eager to come himself, however, and therefore a second stage of diplomacy began. For approximately a year, from the end of 1255 to November of 1256, envoys passed to and fro between Hülegü's forces and Khwurshāh. Mentions of this activity are scattered among the texts of Juwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn, and Bar Hebraeus;[23] and despite Hülegü's plain intention to "wipe out that people," the nature of these contacts was surprisingly moderate. Hülegü's demands turned out to be open to change, and Khwurshāh, on his part, never refused. The first four emissaries from the Mongols demanded that Khwurshāh destroy his fortresses and come before Hülegü;[24] yet in the message of September 22, Hülegü demanded

21 Mongolian *el*/*il* means "peace," "in peaceful relations," as well as "in submission," as opposed to *bulγa*, which means "in revolt." See A. Mostaert and F. W. Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes Vaticanes," *HJAS* 15, no. 3 (December 1952): pp. 454, 492–93. In the Persian texts, *bulγa* is commonly referred to by the term *yāghī*.

22 Rashīd al-Din described emissaries coming from Herāt, Fārs, Anatolia, Georgia, and other lands (see RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 688 and RD/Thackston, p. 480; for the Caliph, see Ṭūsī/Qazwīnī, p. 280 and Ṭūsī/Boyle, p. 151). Khwurshāh sent his reply to the Mongol commander Yasaʾur (see Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: p. 260; and Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 712–13).

23 It should be noted that the contacts with the Nizārīs are described by Juwaynī in two slightly different versions: once in the description of Hülegü's campaign, and again in Khwurshāh's biography.

24 The first sent by Yasaʾur, sometime before May 27, 1256 (see Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: p. 260 and Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 713); the second sent by Hülegü, reaching Khwurshāh during June

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Khwurshāh to come before him, but indicated that if he is delayed, he may send his son in his stead.[25] A month later, Hülegü again demanded Khwurshāh's appearance – but if he was unable, he may send his brother.[26] The Nizārīs, for their part, were mostly willing to accept these terms. As early as May, 1256 Khwurshāh sent one of his brothers to Yasa'ur, destroyed several strongholds and removed the gates of three major fortresses in Alamūt, Lamasar, and Maymūn-Diz.[27] As to the demand for his arrival in person, he politely asked for more time;[28] when his son was required to appear, he did send a son, although it was not his own.[29]

All this might appear pointless, yet the repeated contacts served contrary ends for both sides. For Hülegü, it was possibly an attempt to subjugate a well-fortified enemy without a fight; while Khwurshāh's attitude may be taken as a diplomatic form of *taqiyya*[30] – the cautious veiling of one's true intentions or beliefs – in this case, a false submission to a stronger foe. But above all, it seems that both sides used diplomacy as a distraction meant to gain time. For while the intermediaries passed to and fro, Hülegü's armies were assembling, drawing nearer and nearer to Maymūn-Diz;[31] at the same time Khwurshāh was waiting for the arrival of his strongest ally – winter.

By November, Khwurshāh had run out of time. Hülegü's forces encircled him in his fortress at Maymūn-Diz, and winter was already upon them, with its

(see Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: pp. 261–62; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 713; also mentioned in RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 692; and RD/Thackston, p. 483); the third sent by Hülegü at the end of August or early September 1256 (see Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: pp. 262–63; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 714; also mentioned in RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 693; and RD/Thackston, p. 483); the fourth sent by Hülegü on September 2, 1256 (see RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 692 and RD/Thackston, p. 483). The last mission is possibly mentioned twice by Rashīd al-Dīn, who remarked that envoys were sent again following the departing of his forces in September 2, 1256 (see RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 693 and RD/Thackston, p. 483).

25 This message was sent on September 22, 1256 (see Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: p. 264 and Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 715).

26 This message was sent on October 13, 1256 (see Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: pp. 264–65 and Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 716).

27 Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: pp. 260, 262; Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 713–14; RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 693; and RD/Thackston, p. 483.

28 Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: pp. 262–63 and Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 714.

29 The boy arrived at Hülegü's camp on October 8, 1256. Juwaynī remarked that he was the son of a concubine and Khwurshāh's father, 'Alā' al-Dīn; Bar Hebraeus claimed that he was a nameless poor man's son. See Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: p. 264; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 715; and BH/Budge, p. 423.

30 Francis J. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2007; first published 1891), p. 317.

31 Hülegü approached from the Alamūt River, and Köke Īlgei led a force from the side of the Caspian Sea. See Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: pp. 265–66; Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 716.

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heavy rains and the threat of lack of fodder hovering over the Mongol army.[32] Moderation was cast aside at once. In his next mission, in early November 1256, Hülegü demanded that Khwurshāh come before him within five days. Although the Nizārī leader sent both his own son and his brother, Hülegü stuck to his original demand.[33] According to Rashīd al-Dīn, as well as in one version of Juwaynī's text, this was enough to convince Khwurshāh to surrender. In Juwaynī's second version, a battle erupted at the foot of Maymūn-Diz, after which the Nizārī leader came before Hülegü Khan.[34]

His submission, however, was only the first stage in a larger move. In September 1257, with the smoke still rising over the Nizārī lands, an envoy from Hülegü came to Baghdād with a message for the Caliph. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, who joined Hülegü's entourage following the campaign in Quhistān, described it thus: "You have said, 'I am *īl*', [but] the sign that you are *īl* is that you help us with troops when we go to war against a *yāghī*."[35] As before, Hülegü demanded that the Caliph appear before him – and if not, he should send one of the three leading persons of Baghdād. These three held the true authority in the city – the *wazīr* Muʿiz al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlqamī; the commander of the Caliphal army Sulīmanshāh Ibn Barjām; and the Dawātdār Mujāhid al-Dīn Aybak – a senior official, who was also the leader of the city mob. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the coming of all three was required, as well as the destruction of the city's defenses.[36] The Caliph did none of the above, and Hülegü, enraged, set out for Baghdād.

At this point, both Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Rashīd al-Dīn describe envoys passing back and forth between Hülegü and Baghdād, quite similar to the earlier contacts with Khwurshāh. This lasted for six months, from September 1257 to the beginning of 1258. Yet unlike his contacts with the Nizārīs, this time Hülegü's demands did not change at all. The Caliph was commanded to come himself, or send one of the three persons mentioned above – or else to prepare for bitter war.[37] It appears that the ongoing communication was not intended to buy time; when more time was required to gather his forces, Hülegü camped

32 RD/Karīmī, 2: pp. 694–95 and RD/Thackston, p. 484.

33 RD/Karīmī, 2: pp. 694–95 and RD/Thackston, pp. 484–85.

34 RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 695 and RD/Thackston, p. 484. See also Juwaynī in his version of "Hülegü's campaign" (Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3:113 and Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 622). The battle is described in Juwaynī's version of "the life of Rukn al-Dīn" (see Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, 3: pp. 266–67 and Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 717).

35 Ṭūsī/Qazwīnī, p. 280 and Ṭūsī/Boyle, p. 152. The date of this contact is mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn as September 12, 1257; RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 699 and RD/Thackston, p. 488.

36 Ṭūsī/Qazwīnī, p. 281 and Ṭūsī/Boyle, p. 153; RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 699 and RD/Thackston, p. 488.

37 Ṭūsī/Qazwīnī, pp. 281–82; Ṭūsī/Boyle, p. 153; see also a detailed version in RD/Karīmī, 2: pp. 700–708; and RD/Thackston, pp. 491–95.

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for thirteen days in Ḥulwān, northeast of Baghdād, with no diplomatic activity involved.[38] This time, it seems, the point was the message itself. Hülegü's use of diplomacy against Baghdād was aimed at fraying the nerves of the Caliph – to convince him or his people to submit and convince the city to abandon the fight. These contacts continued, like arrows shot again and again at the same target, during the Mongol army's advance towards Baghdād, and throughout the siege and the battle for the city.[39] There was a brief pause in diplomatic exchanges between January 30 or 31, 1258, and February 7 – at this time of harsh battle Hülegü refused to receive the Caliphal emissaries, as if stretching the stamina of the Baghdādi leadership. On February 7, 1258, Hülegü consented to reply, demanding yet again that the Dawātdār and Sulīmanshāh appear before him.[40] That very day they went out to him, and three days later this long maneuver came to an end, when the Caliph came to submit to Hülegü Khan.[41]

That was one diplomatic move.

2 Syria and Egypt

Following the fall of Baghdād, Hülegü drew another diplomatic arrow from his quiver, this time with a different type of arrowhead. The target now was the Ayyūbid Sultan of Aleppo and Damascus, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the most powerful of the Ayyūbid rulers of Syria at the time.[42] As with the Nizārīs, al-Nāṣir had prior communications with the Mongol forces. He had paid tribute to Baiju in 1241, and to Arghun Aqa in 1243/44; he maintained contact with Güyük Qa'an in 1245/46, and with Möngke Qa'an in 1250. Yet according to Ibn al-ʿAmīd, al-Nāṣir ignored Hülegü completely, and no assistance came from al-Nāṣir to Hülegü in his campaigns;[43] it was his *wazīr*, Zayn al-Dīn Hāfiẓī, who secretly submitted to Hülegü when he invaded Iran.[44] Al-Nāṣir did, however, send envoys to Hülegü after the conquest of Baghdād. His envoys were given a

38 RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 709 and RD/Thackston, p. 495.

39 Ṭūsī/Qazwīnī, pp. 280–81; Ṭūsī/Boyle, p. 153; in more detail, RD/Karīmī, 2: pp. 704, 707–10; and RD/Thackston, pp. 491, 493–95. One mission is mentioned in BH/Budge, p. 430.

40 The *wazīr* al-ʿAlqamī visited his camp earlier, on January 29, as an envoy of the Caliph. See RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 710 and RD/Thackston, p. 494.

41 RD/Karīmī, 2: pp. 711–12 and RD/Thackston, p. 497. For the surrender of the Caliph, see also Ṭūsī/Qazwīnī, p. 290 and Ṭūsī/Boyle, p. 159.

42 He ruled Aleppo since 1248, adding Damascus and Banyās to his domains in 1250. Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 19–20.

43 Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 20–21.

44 RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 718 and RD/Thackston, p. 502.

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letter in Arabic, written by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī at the order of Hülegü, and were sent back on March 26, 1258.[45] Thus a new phase of diplomacy began, mostly based upon written missives in Arabic, embedded with Qur'ānic verses. The communication between Hülegü and al-Nāṣir left traces in numerous texts, and has been discussed by William M. Brinner and thoroughly examined by Denise Aigle.[46] In these communications, Hülegü calls upon al-Nāṣir to destroy his fortresses and come before him; but unlike the contacts with the Nizārīs and the Caliph, al-Nāṣir is not accused of committing any offence. His submission is not required in order to fight a common foe or avenge past wrongs. The reason he should submit is simple – the Mongols are the rightful sovereigns of the land. "Submit before the Sultan of the land, the king of kings upon the earth," said Hülegü in a combination of Arabic and Persian terms, in the letter cited by al-Maqrīzī:[47] "Mine are the two plains, the earth and the sea."[48]

Yet al-Nāṣir did not submit. The communication continued, and Hülegü's tone became more and more intimidating. The tracks are hard to follow; as Aigle has pointed out, several of the sources brought the contents as separate letters, while others – like al-Maqrīzī, and his source, Ibn al-Furāt – merged them into one missive.[49] This was the case in the version of the letters found in earlier texts by Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) and Waṣṣāf (d. 1323); in their description of events, from the conquest of Baghdād to the Battle of ʿAyn Jālūt, only a single letter was sent by Hülegü.[50] This one long missive may be divided into two parts: in Waṣṣāf's version, it begins by addressing al-Nāṣir in rather moderate tones, parallel to the first six lines of the letter in Bar Hebraeus;[51] but then it opens again, taking off to new heights of wrath, addressing not only

45 RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 715 and RD/Thackston, p. 500.

46 W. M. Brinner, "Some Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Documents from Non-Archival Sources," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): pp. 117–43; and Denise Aigle, "Hülegü's Letters to the Last Ayyubid Ruler of Syria: The Construction of a Model," in *The Mongol Empire between Myth and Reality* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 199–218.

47 *Sultan al-arḍ, shāhnshāh ru-ye zamīn*. See Maqrīzī, 1: p. 415; Maqrīzī/Quatremère, 1: p. 84. This letter was sent in 1259 (see Maqrīzī, 1: p. 414).

48 Maqrīzī, 1: p. 416. A nearly identical version appears in the text of the later Al-Suyūṭī, *Tārikh al-Khulafa*, ed. M. R. al-Ḥalabī (Beirut, 2004), p. 408; for an English translation see H. S. Jarrett, *Jalalu'ddin a's Suyūṭi* (*ʿAbd al-Kahaan ibn Abi Bakr*) *History of the Caliphs* (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1970), p. 499.

49 Aigle, "Hülegü's Letters," pp. 208–209.

50 BH/Manṣūr, p. 242; and Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 43–44. This part is incomplete in the summarized Persian version by ʿA. M. Ayātī, *Tahrīr Tarīkh-i Waṣṣāf* (Tehran: Ministry of Education, 1993), p. 24. I wish to express deep thanks to Dr. Amir Mazor for his assistance with the Arabic texts.

51 Waṣṣaf/Bombay, p. 43 and BH/Manṣūr, p. 242.

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al-Nāṣir but now all the *amīr*s and soldiers of Syria.[52] This part is likely to be the contents of the last of Hülegü's letters to al-Nāṣir; according to Waṣṣāf, it was written by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī at Hülegü's order, "spirited as an announcement of triumph" (*bi-rūḥ fatḥnāmeh*), intended to terrify the leaders of Syria.[53] And indeed, the actual demand for al-Nāṣir's submission is nearly lost in a sea of eloquent threats: "Allāh had torn all compassion out of our hearts. Woe, woe to him who is not on our side [*ḥizbnā*], for we have destroyed the lands and orphaned children, and filled the land with ruin."[54] Hülegü's name is not mentioned; only a "we" represents the character behind the words, apparently referring, as in the decree of 1255, to the Mongols as a whole. The option to avoid the catastrophe remains: "whoever sought our protection (*amān*) remained safe; whoever sought war, met with regret."[55] Along with this distinction between the loyal and the rebel come expressions of praise of the Mongols and offence to al-Nāṣir: "Your dignitaries for us are ignoble, and your multitude for us are few; disaster and fear to him who meets us with arrogance, and safety and grace to the humble …"[56]

Despite such threats, al-Nāṣir still did not submit. On the contrary, Waṣṣāf described his defiant reply as expressing an eagerness to fight;[57] but eventually, he did take fright. Leaving his cities behind to be conquered by Hülegü, he turned south, heading towards Egypt, and was later caught and killed.[58]

Events were flowing fast, and far to the east the Great Khan died. While Hülegü was retreating north, evacuating most of his forces from Syria, he loosed another diplomatic arrow aimed backwards, at another foe – Sayf al-Dīn Quṭuz, the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt. The letter, carried to Cairo by four Mongol envoys,[59] addresses Sultan Quṭuz along with "all of his *amīr*s and the people of his kingdom, in Egypt and around it."[60] Containing several phrases

52 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 43–44; parallel in content to the seventh line onwards, in the letter in BH/Manṣūr, p. 242.

53 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 43; Aigle translated *fatḥnāmeh* as "a Book of Conquest," parallel to the tale of the conquest of Baghdad ("Hülegü's Letters," p. 205 n. 35), yet since the focus of the content is a future conquest, I prefer the above translation.

54 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 43; nearly identical version in BH/Manṣūr, p. 242.

55 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 43; identical to BH/Manṣūr, p. 242.

56 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 44; BH/Manṣūr, p. 242, phrased as "your dignitaries for us are ignoble, and your wealthy for us are impoverished."

57 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 44; and Ayātī, *Tahrīr Tarīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, p. 24.

58 The Aleppo citadel fell in February 14, 1260, and Hama and Homs submitted. See Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 26–27.

59 Maqrīzī, citing Ibn al-Furāt, 1: p. 429.

60 Maqrīzī, 1: p. 427; for English translation see Bernard Lewis, *Islam: From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 1: p. 84.

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that are identical to those of Hülegü's letter to al-Nāṣir, this letter likewise shows traces of the same problematic integration of several letters into one; but this may also hint that the same hand held the quill in both cases. As the last communication with al-Nāṣir, though more moderate in tone, this letter demanded submission in the name of "the Great Khan, king of kings in the east and the west."[61]

In contrast to the first diplomatic move in Iran and Baghdād, the contacts with the rulers of Syria and Egypt illustrate a new phase of diplomacy – one based not on deceit and a feigned alliance against a common foe, but on the pure element of the Mongol imperial ideology. Yet this type of arrow appears to be effective only when backed up by the whole force of the Mongol army. On September 3, 1260, at the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt, this was not the case.

3 The Far West

The eruption of inter-Mongol struggle and the formation of different Mongol Khanates led Hülegü to change his diplomatic practice once again. The last arrow he loosed westwards was aimed farther – this time at Louis IX, the King of France. This letter is found in a single text, copied by the scribe Nicholaus on 26 April 1344 into a compendium of saints' tales.[62] This long and eloquent letter, written on April 10, 1262, plainly relates to the war against the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt (*Babilon*). Yet Hülegü's main concern lay elsewhere; on August 20 he rode at the head of vast army against the forces of Berke, the Khan of Jochi Ulus, often named the "Golden Horde."[63] Here, as in his letter to the Mamluk Sultan Quṭuz in 1260, diplomacy served to deal with a lesser front, while Hülegü himself was galloping to another.

Since it was discovered in 1980, this letter has been studied by several scholars. Jean Richard saw it as revolutionary, emphasizing the friendly attitude, "that refrains from mentioning an explicit demand of submission." Richard discerned in this letter a change in Hülegü's policy, and the beginning

61 *al-Qān al-āʿẓam*; see Maqrīzī, 1: p. 427 and Lewis, *Islam*, p. 84.

62 Hülegü/Mayvaert, p. 245, fn. 2; To see translation in French and English respectively see Hülegü/Richard, pp. 175–82 and Hülegü/BB, pp. 156–59.

63 For the date of the letter see Hülegü/Meyvaert, p. 259; Hülegü/Richard, p. 182; and Hülegü/BB, p. 159. Hülegü set against Berke on August 20, 1262, according to RD/Karīmī, 2: p. 732 and RD/Thackston, p. 511. Jackson, based upon Abu-Shāma, Kirakos, and Gregor of Akanc, set it earlier, at the end of 1261. Peter Jackson, "The Dissolution of the Mongol Empire," *CAJ* 22 (1978): p. 233.

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of the Mongol search for an alliance with the west.[64] Jackson, on the other hand, stated that although it is different from the earlier Mongol ultimatums to European leaders, the letter still emphasizes Heaven's mandate to Chinggis Khan, and expresses the hard imperious attitude that commands rather than requests.[65] Aigle concluded that Hülegü presented himself in this letter as the friend of Christianity and the enemy of Islam, and as one to whom all should submit.[66] Analyzing this letter in a higher resolution – not only as a part of the Mongol-European contacts but also as a part of Hülegü's own western diplomacy – could aid in settling the tensions among these interpretations.

I shall therefore discuss several points in this letter, beginning with the worldview apparent in its overture:[67]

> God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken[68] unto our grandfather Chingischan by his relative Teptemgri – meaning prophet of God – miraculously revealing future events to him through the words of Teptemgri, saying in effect: "I alone am the Almighty God on high, and I have set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms to be king of all the world, to root out and to pull down and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant.[69] I tell you to announce *of my commission* (*mandatum*)[70] to all the nations, tongues and tribes of the east, the south, the north and the west … so that those who have ears can hear, those who can hear can understand, and those who understand can believe. Those

64 Hülegü/Richard, pp. 11, 13–14, 183.

65 Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West 1221–1410* (London: Pearson-Longman, 2005), p. 182.

66 Denise Aigle, "The Letters of Eljigidei, Hulegu and Abaqa: Mongol Overtures or Christian Ventriloquism?" *Inner Asia* 7 (2005): p. 155. In a later study, the aggressive attitude of the letter was further emphasized; see Denise Aigle, "De la 'non-négociation' à l'alliance in-aboutie. Réflexions sur la diplomatie entre les Mongols et l'Occident Latin," *OM* 88, no. 2 (2008): p. 418.

67 The basis for this part is the translation of Barber and Bate; the points where a different reading is suggested will be brought in italics. I wish to warmly thank to Dr. Jonathan Rubin for his assistance in dealing with the Latin text.

68 Meyvaert notes Hebrews 1:1 (Hülegü/Mayvaert, p. 252, fn. 35).

69 Meyvaert notes Jeremiah 1:10 (Hülegü/Mayvaert, p. 252, fn. 37); for these quotes, see the discussion below.

70 Hülegü/BB, p. 156, translated as "command"; Richard as "commandment" (Hülegü/Richard, p. 176); Jackson as "decree" (see Peter Jackson, "World Conquest and Local Accommodation: Threat and Blandishment in Mongol Diplomacy," in Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn, eds., *History and Historiography of Post Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2006), p. 8. For this term see the discussion below.

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> who do not believe will later learn what punishment will be meted on those who did not believe my commands."[71]

The worldview that divides the *il* and the *yāghī* appears in the very beginning, as a story that goes back to the days of Chinggis Khan and his ally and enemy, the shaman Kököchu Teb Tengri.[72] These are not the words of Hülegü, but of God, announced through the prophet Teb Tengri to Chinggis Khan, and now to Louis IX. Yet indirect as it is, the elements of the Mongolian worldview are there to be seen. Chinggis Khan had received a heavenly right to rule over the world, and all the nations, tongues, and tribes are divided to two: those who believe so (the *il*), and those who do not (the *yāghī*) and are therefore destined to be punished. The term *mandatum* may be translated as a commission, charge or order; yet in a certain case, noted Jackson, *mandatum* is a possible reference to the *Yasa*, therefore allowing for a wider sense to this term.[73] When it appears as singular, I tend to see "commission" or "authority" as the meaning of *mandatum*, for it is a wide, all-encompassing declaration, and the mere "command" would later follow.

Alongside the Mongol worldview, the use of the addressee's language and belief is very apparent. Whereas Hülegü's earlier letters to Muslim rulers used pure Muslim language, this letter attempts to create a "common language." This is done both in direct translation, as in "Teptemgri, meaning prophet of God"; and indirectly through the correlation of terms, by combining Christian and Mongol contents. Thus the changes to the quote from the *Epistle to the Hebrews* – where Chinggis Khan is mentioned instead of the Son of God.[74] Slightly altered verses are used as well to carry the Mongol content, as in the quote from Jeremiah,[75] similar to those in Hülegü's earlier letters.

The letter continues, with the speaker finally introducing himself:

> Through the virtue of Mengutengri, that is the living God, we, Huleyu cham, leader of the army of the Mongols, avid destroyer of the perfidious Saracen peoples, friend and supporter of the Christian religion, energetic

71 Hülegü/Meyvaert, pp. 252–53 and Hülegü/BB, pp. 156–57.

72 For Teb Tengri and his words to Chinggis Khan, as cited by Rashīd al-Dīn, see RD/Karīmī, 1: p. 127 and RD/Thackston, pp. 89–90. For the problematic nature of the story that is missing in the *SHM*, see the note of de Rachewiltz in *SHM*, 2: p. 869; for the importance of Kököchu and its obliteration, p. 761.

73 Jackson, "World Conquest," p. 4.

74 The original quote is "God … hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son."

75 The original verse is "I have [missing: this day] set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms [added: to be king of all the world], to root out …"

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> fighter of enemies and faithful friend of friends, send Barachmar – that is greetings[76] – to Louis, the illustrious King of the Franks, and to the princes, dukes, counts, barons, knights, and all and sundry in the kingdom of France.
>
> By the announcement of this revelation we inform you *that you should obey us without doubt, for we claim the authority of the living God*,[77] particularly when you consider that our power was transmitted by Mengutengri himself, that is the living God.

Only now does Hülegü presents himself – this time with no mention of a Qa'an, as would be expected in the circumstances of 1262. Despite the use of "we," this time Hülegü addresses his target by his own name, and does not speak for all the Mongols (compare the meaning of "we" in his earlier messages to the kings of Iran, al-Naṣīr and Sultan Quṭuz). This may reflect not only the internal lack of Mongol unity, but a possible intention of Hülegü to differ himself from Berke Khan of Ulus Jochi, who was operating at the time against Eastern Europe. Hülegü's intended addressee is not one man, but the King of France along with all his nobles and subjects, similar to the earlier letters to Quṭuz and al-Naṣīr.

Immediately following the introduction is the demand for submission, clear and bereft of any stories or intermediates. The threat facing those who do not submit will now be described through a long and detailed list of Mongol victories over the peoples who refused to believe the divine mandate, and therefore encountered a terrible fate. Some, however, chose to support the Mongols, and remained safe and protected. This list of conquests encompasses events dating back to the days of Chinggis Khan, and up through, in more detail, the actions of Hülegü himself.[78] In the description of the conquest of Baghdād, the letter's rhetoric reached its zenith:

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76 For this Syriac greeting see Pier G. Borbone, "Syro-Mongolian greetings for the King of France: A note about the Letter of Hülegü to King Louis IX (1262)," *Studi Classici e Orientalli* (2015): pp. 479–84.

77 This sentence follows the translation of Richard (see Hülegü/Richard, p. 176), which is closer in my opinion to the original. Hülegü/BB, p. 157, translated: "By the announcement of this revelation, we inform you that *we demand that you agree to abide by the command of the living God*, particularly when you consider …" The text in Hülegü/Meyvaert, p. 253, reads: "Nunciando predictam revelationem notificamus ut nobis mandatum dei vivi exegentibus eo indubitancius acquiescere velitis quo potestatem nostram ab ipso Mengutengri (id est deo vivo) collatam diligencius consideretis."

78 This part stretches over 46 lines in Meyvaert's edition; see Hülegü/Meyvaert, pp. 253–55; Hülegü/Richard, pp. 176–78; and Hülegü/BB, pp. 157–58.

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> He [the Caliph] ridiculously boasted that as a descendant of Machomet, the unspeakable pseudo-prophet of the Saracens, he was the pope and head of the world, and he did not hesitate to insist that the Almighty Creator had created the heavens, the earth, and everything in it for the said Machmet [sic] and his people only. Trusting hugely in his own high magnificence, his countless wealth, castles, and troops he chose to join battle with us rather than *amicably*[79] obey our order. We defeated him just like all the other *rebels*[80] in open combat, killing two thousand thousands of his men and a host of others, too many to count. In the city of Baldach lived the patriarch of the Nestorians with his bishops, monks, priests, clerics, and Christians; we separated all of them from the Saracens, enriched them, and ordered them to live safely and peacefully with their possessions.[81]

This part the letter not only uses the addressee's language but also his worldview, slandering the Caliph and Islam in general. This rhetoric of praise and offence echoes Hülegü's last messages to al-Naṣīr and Quṭuz. Here, though, the insults are not intended for the addressee but for a third party – a mutual enemy. This element draws the letter to Louis IX closer to Hülegü's first contact with the west, which called upon the kings of Iran to join his cause against the heretics. The description of the fate of Baghdād's Christians is parallel to the earlier description of those who chose to follow the Mongols; this correlation, and the emphasis on the separation between the rebels and the followers, practically defines the Christians of Baghdād as *il*.

The letter then continues to describe the conquest of Syria, with a remark about the Latin slaves released by John of Hungary on Hülegü's order.[82] Then Hülegü returns from the far lands to Louis himself:

> You should also know that our excellence is cognisant of the fact that although many kings rule in Western Christendom, you have made yourself preeminent by means of the splendor of your energy, because of all who are considered to be most diligent in protecting the faith in the name of

79 "*Bnigne*"; see Hülegü/Meyvaert, p. 256; Barber and Bates translated it as "meekly" (Hülegü/BB, p. 158), yet Richard's "amiablement" (see Hülegü/Richard, p. 179) is in my opinion closer to the point.

80 "*ceteros rebelles*"; see Hülegü/Meyvaert, p. 256; omitted in Hülegü/BB, p. 158.

81 Hülegü/Meyvaert, p. 256; Hülegü/BB, p. 158; and Hülegü/Richard, p. 179.

82 "*Iohannes Ungarus*"; see Hülegü/Meyvaert, pp. 256–57 and Hülegü/BB, p. 158. Richard surmised these were prisoners taken during the crusade of Louis IX, 1249–52; see Hülegü/Richard, p. 180, n18.

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> Christ you took the trouble to send as a sign of particular friendship, in honour of the Almighty Living God, although we had yet to send you our envoys, your chapel in a special cloth, with a dedication to the Divine Name. You sent this through your envoys to our predecessor Crinizcham. As we said, if you were so considerate when you had not yet been contacted by us, henceforth since we have taken care to address your majesty by letter and by faithful envoys, we believe you will wish to renew the aforementioned friendship with us *by an even stronger bond*.[83]

Hülegü's intention becomes clearer here – not a demand for submission, but a renewal of an existing contact. He searched thirteen years in the past to find one: the mission sent by Louis IX to the court of Güyük Qa'an in 1249, that carried a mobile chapel as a gift. Jean de Joinville, who was present at Louis' court when his envoys returned with the Mongols' reply, described that the gift was referred to as a tribute, evidence of Louis' submission.[84] Yet here the contact is referred to as "friendship" (*amicitie*) – and, based on the overall worldview of this letter, should be understood as *il.*

It is worth noting that the emissaries Louis sent were not of his own initiative, but as a reply to an earlier Mongol contact – the envoys of Eljigidei, the commander of the Mongol forces in Iran. This omission may hint that Hülegü was unaware of Eljigidei's act, and that only Louis' embassy to the Qa'an's court was known to him. That might support the surmise made by Jackson, that Eljigidei had contacted the Franks on his own accord, during the complicated days following Güyük's death.[85]

From Louis himself, Hülegü then turned to describe another party – the Pope:

> Furthermore, we wish to admit to your lordship that at first we thought the chief bishop, the pope, was the king of the *Franks*[86] or the Emperor, but after more intensive enquiries we discovered that he is a man of religion who prays to God continually on behalf of all the nations, *tenant of*

83 *"Vinculo forciori"*; see Hülegü/Meyvaert, p. 258; this translation follows Richard (Hülegü/Richard, p. 181), and is perhaps closer to the point; Hülegü/BB, p. 159, translated it as "stronger terms".

84 Jean de Joinville, *La vie de Saint Louis*, paragraph 490; for English translation, see E. K. B. Wedgwood, *The Memoires of the Lord of Joinville* (New York: E. P. Duton, 1906), p. 258.

85 Jackson, "World Conquest," p. 13; for Eljigidei's emissary, see Aigle, "Letters of Eljigidei," pp. 145–50.

86 Follows Hülegü/Richard, p. 181; Hülegü/BB, p. 159, translated "French."

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> *the place of Misicatengrin, that is the son of the living God,*[87] *on earth; and he is* head of all those who believe in Christ and pray to him.[88] With this knowledge we gave orders for the Holy City of Jerusalem, which had been long held by the profane, to be restored to him, together with all the appurtenances of the kingdom, by our aforementioned faithful and devoted John, who practices the Christian religion, something we firmly believe has more than once been related to you.[89]

The promise of a reward – Jerusalem – is made by Hülegü not to Louis, but to the Pope. According to Richard, this is part of the change of Hülegü's policy. The Frankish-Mongol cooperation against Egypt will be based from now on from a new viewpoint – Hülegü's understanding of the role played by the papacy in the political structure of the west and the necessity of restoring Jerusalem to the Pope.[90] Yet it should be noted that the Pope at the time of the letter – Urban IV (August 1261–October 1264) – ruled during a period of intense tumult within Christianity.[91] Describing the Pope as the head of all Christians is perhaps as far from reality as addressing Quṭuz in the name of the Qa'an in a letter written shortly after the death of Möngke. It may serve a diplomatic purpose, for the words were intended for the King of France; the praise for the Pope and the declared intention to restore Jerusalem to the papacy may justify his contact with Hülegü. Such justification was needed, for the very spring when Hülegü's letter was written, Pope Urban IV called for a crusade against the Mongols threatening Eastern Europe.[92] It may also be possible that Richard's surmise is correct, and that Hülegü truly believed that the pope is the key figure in Europe; and this, perhaps, explains the ultimate failure of this Mongol policy.

87 *Misica* – messiah; *tengri* – heaven, yet here in the meaning of God (see note by F. W. Cleaves in Meyvaert, p. 258, fn. 79). Richard notes that is the way Christ was referred to in the correspondence between the khans and the papacy; see Richard, *Au-delà*, p. 181, fn19.

88 Partly follows Hülegü/Richard, p. 181. Hülegü/BB, p. 159, translated "of all the nations of Misicatengrin (that is the sons of the living God), representing Him on earth."

89 Hülegü/Meyvaert, p. 258; Hülegü/BB, p. 159; and Hülegü/Richard, p. 181.

90 Hülegü/Richard, p. 184.

91 For the fall of Latin Constantinople, the rise of Byzantium, and the threat of Manfred Hohenstaufen, see Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, pp. 118–19.

92 On May 15, 1262; see Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, pp. 119 and 131, fn. 41. Moreover, Bohemod VI of Antioch, who supported Hülegü, was excommunicated by Thomas Agni, legate of Pope Alexander IV, in 1260, a status that remained unchanged in 1263 as well; see Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, p. 117.

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Hülegü then described the defeat of "a few of our men" by the treacherous "Babylonian dog mice" – i.e., at the Battle of ʿAyn Jālūt[93] – and concluded:

> Although revenge on these recreants would please us somewhat, and they have not caused any real harm, it is nevertheless our intention shortly to complete our plan against the said infidel Babylonians of the canine race, *as well as against the rest of the rebels*.[94]

Apart from the colorful usage of the addressee's language and culture – for "canine" is an unlikely insult in Mongol terms, judging from the names of Mongol commanders such as Noghai and Baraq – this part of the letter contains an interesting change in the description of the Mongol power. Instead of ignoring the defeat at September 3, 1260, Hülegü chose to plainly describe it, framing the Mongol forces in somewhat human colors. The Mongols are still described as divinely destined to rule the entire world, yet humanly capable of defeat. He thus continued with an open call for military assistance:

> According to our information, having been driven from their lands, the sea remains their only refuge, so we alert your might who exercise dominion on the shores in your part of the territory to the utility of patrolling the sea with armed vessels in order to prevent the aforementioned infidel dogs, our mutual enemies, from finding refuge there, so that they cannot escape us through any shortcomings in our maritime forces.[95]

The letter concludes with a blessing by the name of *Mangutengri*, and with the date and location of writing – Maraghe, April 10, in the Year of the Dog.[96]

The purpose of Hülegü's letter was twofold. The first was a plain call for naval assistance against a common foe, and the second, as noted by Jackson, concerned the situation in Eastern Europe – the attempt to counter the activity of Berke, Khan of Ulus Jochi.

Since 1259, Berke had repeatedly demanded under the threat of attack that King Bela IV of Hungary establish a marriage alliance and provide assistance in Berke's campaigns. The pressure went beyond mere words. In 1259, a force

93 Hülegü/Meyvaert, p. 258; Hülegü/BB, p. 159; and Hülegü/Richard, p. 182.

94 Hülegü/Meyvaert, 259 (here following Hülegü/Richard, p. 182). Barber and Bate (Hülegü/BB, p. 159), translated "exactly as we did against other rebels," yet there is no past tense here.

95 Hülegü/Meyvaert, p. 259; Hülegü/BB, p. 159; and Hülegü/Richard, p. 182.

96 Hülegü/Meyvaert, p. 259; Hülegü/BB, p. 159; and Hülegü/Richard, p. 182.

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under Boroldai attacked Krakov and Sandomir, and in 1259–60, Mongol forces assaulted Lithuania and Prussia.[97] Hülegü's aspiration to acquire a formal recognition of his authority from the king of France may therefore stem from his desire to block the expansion of his Jochid rivals into Europe. Yet this aspiration remained hidden, for in his letter to Louis the Mamluks were seen as the obvious enemy. Although Hülegü had the historical and contemporary grounds to identify Berke Khan as a Muslim enemy of Latin Christendom and a military threat to Europe – and thus incite France against his Jochid rival (paralleling Berke's contacts with the Mamluk sultan against Hülegü himself) – it appears he did not do so. The only remark in the letter that hints of the existence of another enemy is found in the context of the intention "to complete our plan" against the Mamluks "as well as against the rest of the rebels." This tendency to leave the internal Mongol struggle unmentioned in Hülegüid contacts with Europe outlived Hülegü himself, as is evident in the words and deeds of his son and successor, Abaqa Khan (r. 1265–1282).[98]

Whether Hülegü's letter reached its destination remains uncertain,[99] yet there is no dispute about the actual outcome: a Mongol-Frankish alliance did not come to pass. Yet sending the letter had long-term diplomatic outcomes. Richard includes among the consequence of this letter the presence of Latin Christians in the courts of Hülegü and Abaqa – missionaries, mercenaries and others.[100] This letter surely triggered a new diplomatic move, one that would outlive Hülegü, and develop during the reigns of his successors. But whether it was a revolution or a continuation is open to discussion.

4 Conclusion

By considering this letter in the flow of the contacts between the Mongols and the west, beginning with the Papal embassies sent by the Council of Lyons in 1245, Richard discerned that Hülegü's letter to Louis IX marks a change in the Mongol policy – asking the king of France to join in the Mongol war against the Mamluks and promising Jerusalem to the Pope, without abandoning the idea of the Chinggisid right to rule the world. This change, he claimed, was

97 Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, pp. 123–24.

98 For this see N. O. Arom, "'In-Ger' and 'Outer' Diplomacy: Il-Khanid Contacts with the Mongols and the Outside World, 1260–1282," *Eurasian Studies* 17 (2019): pp. 286–309.

99 Compare Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, p. 166 and Richard, *Au-delà*, p. 186.

100 Richard, *Au-delà*, pp. 191–92.

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prompted by the Christian advisers in Hülegü's court – David of Ashby, John of Hungary, and others.[101]

Yet placing this letter in the context of Hülegü's overall westward contacts illustrates its similarity to the first move initiated by him in December 1255. As in that older decree, Hülegü presented a common enemy to his addressee in their cultural terms – "the treacherous nations of the Saracens," and especially "these infidel dogs of Babilon."[102] His demand, though concealed in the verbiage, is ultimately the same: submission ("you should obey us without doubt") and military assistance ("patrolling the sea with armed vessels"). As before, this demand reaffirms the Mongolian worldview that distinguishes between the loyal subject and the rebel, and is presented as supported by God – the god of the addressee, identified as the Mongol supreme power ("Mengutengri, that is the living God"). Compliance with this demand would reward the addressee, both in general terms ("[we] ordered them to live safely and peacefully with their possessions"), and in more specific terms – Jerusalem.

The order to restore Jerusalem and adjacent areas of the kingdom to the Pope has no parallel in Hülegü's earlier contacts. It did, however, occur in a similar communication: that of Berke Khan and the Mamluk Sultan Baybars. In a detailed study of these contacts, Anne Broadbridge remarked that, according to one source, Berke had promised to grant Baybars "the land that your horses reach in Ilkhanid territory."[103] The granting of land emphasizes Berke's superiority, as in the relations between a sovereign and a loyal subordinate. Thus Broadbridge concluded it is evident that Berke Khan saw Baybars according to the old Mongol view – a submissive ruler who can be sent against a foe or be rewarded in land as the Khan wishes. This inequality, as Broadbridge pointed out, was ideological rather than practical;[104] this was true of the relations between Berke and Baybars just as of those between Hülegü and Louis. Thus, the core of Hülegü's letter to Louis, including the military cooperation and the promise of land, corresponds to the core of his earlier contacts. While the eloquent language has been developed and expanded upon, the Mongolian worldview at its core remains unchanged.

At this point, the question of the policymaker emerges. Meyvaert, Richard, and Aigle all agree that the letter was written by a Christian hand.[105] According

101 Richard, *Au-delà*, pp. 9–14; a similar conclusion was suggested by Aigle, in more moderate terms; see "Letters of Eljigidei," p. 156.

102 Hülegü/Meyvaert, pp. 253, 259; Hülegü/BB, pp. 157, 159; and Hülegü/Richard, pp. 176, 182.

103 According to al-Yūnīnī; see Anne F. Broadbridge, "Mamluk Legitimacy and the Mongols: The Reigns of Baybars and Qalāwūn," *Mamluk Studies Review* 5 (2001): p. 101.

104 Broadbridge, "Mamluk Legitimacy," pp. 101–102.

105 Meyvaert, p. 250; Hülegü/Richard, p. 182; and Aigle, "Letters of Eljigidei," p. 153.

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to both Richard and Aigle, the Christian advisers were also those responsible for the policy expressed in this letter. A detailed discussion is devoted by Richard to the question of whether the Dominicans or the Eastern Christians were the power behind this policy.[106] It is true that in the Frankish-Muslim contacts of that time, the envoys of both sides had, in certain cases, a major influence on the contents of agreements;[107] but the Mongol case was different. The Christian writer of the letter to Louis IX has striking parallels to the correspondents Hülegü's employed earlier: Arghun Aqa, who composed alongside Hülegü the decrees to the kings of Iran in 1255, with the presence – and possible advice – of "all the grandees and nobles and ministers of Khorasan"; and Naṣīr al-Dīn Al-Ṭūsī, who wrote by the Khan's command the letter to al-Naṣīr Yūsuf at 1259, and probably the one to Sultan Quṭuz at 1260. The similar method apparent in the messages and the parallel elements in their contents leads to the conclusion that Hülegü's Christian advisers drafted the policy expressed in the letter to Louis in the same way as his Muslim advisers, who wrote the earlier messages. Their effect was invaluable in the linguistic field, the metaphors they chose and their use of Holy Scripture – as well as in the even more important aspect of the understanding the addressee's state of mind. But the core message remained Mongolian, and the diplomatic moves which the letter sought to create were those of Hülegü himself.

As many shafts bearing various arrowheads, diplomacy served Hülegü in changing forms – to divide, distract, stun with fear, or lead an attack; and at different distances – far flying, near flying; with the constant aim of further expanding the range of Mongol rule.

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106 Richard, *Au-delà*, pp. 11, 185–86; and Aigle, "Letters of Eljigidei," p. 156.

107 For example, in 1192 between the envoys of Richard "Lionheart" and Salaḥ al-Dīn; see Y. Friedmann, "Peacemaking: Perceptions and Practices in the Medieval Latin East," in Conor Kostick, ed., *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 240.

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CHAPTER 10

The Ilkhanate and Afghanistan

Timothy May

Through the centuries, Afghanistan has gained a reputation of being rather inhospitable to conquering armies.[1] Indeed, most modern powers that attempted to subdue Afghanistan found it difficult to conquer and even more challenging to rule, draining men and resources, thus earning it the formidable epithet of "The Graveyard of Empires." One empire that successfully conquered the region and achieved long-term success in Afghanistan was the Mongol Empire. That being said, Afghanistan is a long neglected area of scholarship on the Mongol Empire.[2] Even in the existing scholarship, there is less an analysis of Mongol rule and activity in the region than an investigation of Mongol personnel and a focus on a peculiar group known as the Qara'una, who played a determining role in the history of Mongol rule in Afghanistan.[3] While the following

1 This research has had a long life, beginning in 2002 when David Morgan offered a seminar on Afghanistan from Alexander to al-Qaida. It provided me an opportunity to work out some of the chronology and Mongol actions during the Khwārazmian campaign and the *tamma* period for my dissertation. Since then, I returned to the topic periodically and have benefitted from comments given at the New Approaches on the Il-Khans conference held in Ulaanbaatar in 2014 as well as at the Central Eurasian Studies Society conference held in Bloomington, Indiana in 2012 and at the Global Encounters: Legacies of Exchange and Conflict, 1000–1700 conference at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill in 2008. I also benefitted from the generous support of Scott Jacobs who funded part of the research.

2 H. F. Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan: An Ethnography of the Monghols and Related Peoples of Afghanistan* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1962); John Andrew Boyle, "The Mongol Commanders in Afghanistan and India according to the Ṭābāqāt-i Nāṣirī of Jūzjānī," *Islamic Studies* 2, no. 2 (1963): pp. 235–247; Hirotoshi Shimo, "The Qarāūnās in the Historical Materials of the Īlkhanate," *The Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 33 (1977): pp. 131–181; Jean Aubin, "L'ethnogénèse des Qaraunas," *Turcica* 1 (1969): pp. 65–95; Elizabeth E. Bacon, "The Inquiry into the History of the Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 7/3 (1951): pp. 230–247, and Peter Jackson, "The Mongols of Central Asia and then Qara'unas," *Iran* 56, no. 1 (2018): pp. 91–103. There may be some inclusion of the region of Afghanistan in other works, but the connection is tangential.

3 Shimo, "The Qarāūnās in the Historical Materials," pp. 131–181; Aubin, "L'ethnogénèse des Qaraunas," pp. 65–95; Bacon, "The Inquiry into the History of the Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan," pp. 230–247; Peter Jackson, "Appendix III: Qara'unas and Negüderis", in *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 328; Jackson, "The Mongols of Central Asia," pp. 91–103.

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does not remedy all issues, it will shed some light on Mongol activities in the modern region of Afghanistan particularly during the Ilkhanid era.

The modern territory of Afghanistan represented the eastern frontier of the Ilkhanate, but it was not a clearly delineated border. The Mongols did not know the region with its current borders nor even as a distinct entity by that name. Rather, modern Afghanistan consists of the medieval regions of eastern Khurāsān (the environs of Harāt and farther east), Gharjistān, Ṭukhāristān, Ghūr, Zabulistān, Ghazna (which included Kābul), Badakhshān, the Wakhān, part of Sīstān, and others. Although anachronistic, Afghanistan, however, still serves as a useful term when discussing the eastern Ilkhanid frontier as many of the provincial names still use medieval regional names.[4]

1 Afghanistan and the Khwārazmian War

Mongol involvement in Afghanistan began as a consequence of the massacre of a Mongol sponsored caravan at Otrār in 1218, which the Khwārazmshāh, Sultan Muḥammad II (r. 1200–1220) permitted. When the rulers failed to resolve the incident diplomatically, the Mongols under Chinggis Khan (1162–1227) invaded. Otrār quickly fell. Involvement in Afghanistan began after the fall of Samarqand. Chinggis Khan advanced on the city of Tirmidh, located on the Āmū Daryā and still serves as the entry for modern Afghanistan from Uzbekistan and from which the Soviets entered and departed from Afghanistan.

After taking Tirmidh, Chinggis Khan and his son Tolui divided their army, with Tolui leading troops into Khurāsān. Tolui devastated much of Khurāsān, now divided between Iran, Turkmenistan, and Afghanistan, including massacring the entire populations of Merv and Nīshāpūr because a *güregen* or son-in-law (e.g. Tifjār or Toquchar) of Chinggis Khan died in the vicinity.[5]

4 Khurāsān's boundaries are a vague and seem to differ for every author. In some instances, Khurāsān includes Gharjistān, Ghūr, Ṭukhāristān, and Badakhshān, with the city of Balkh serving as the eastern capital of the region. In other instances Harāt seems to be the eastern limits. See G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc, 1966), pp. 382–396. Also see C. E. Bosworth, "Khurāsān," *EI2*, edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Consulted online on 23 January 2020 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4335.

5 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, pp. 120–122; Jūzjānī/Raverty, 1026–1031; Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, ed. Saʿīd ʿAshūr (Cairo: al-Hayāt al-Misriyyat al-ʿāmmat lil-kitāb, 1975), p. 325; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kamil fī al-Tarikh*, vol. XII (Beirut: Dar Sadr, 1979), p. 391. According to Jūzjānī, in a scene reminiscent of Rome's destruction of Carthage, after taking Nîshāpūr, Tolui razed the walls and killed everyone. He then yoked oxen and ploughed over the city. Toquchar is the proper name, but Tifjār appears in the Persian sources.

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After Nīshāpūr fell at the end of 618 H/1221–1222, Tolui marched east back into Afghanistan to the city of Harāt and besieged the city, placing catapults on all sides of the city. Despite a stiff resistance that lasted eight months, Harāt fell before the Mongol onslaught.[6] In the same fashion, the region of Sīstān, now divided between Iran and Afghanistan, fell to the Mongols. Other forces also marched towards Ghazna after the fall of Harāt.[7]

The major task for the Mongols in the region was not so much the conquest of territory, but rather the destruction of the remaining Khwārazmian threats. Jalāl al-Dīn, the son of Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh II, embodied this challenge to Mongol supremacy. After the death of his father, he went from Khwārazm and eventually arrived in Ghazna in 618 H/1221–1222. At Ghazna, Malik Khan of Harāt joined Jalāl al-Dīn. Malik Khan had originally submitted to the Mongols, but rebelled after Toquchar's predations in Khurāsān.[8] Chinggis Khan sent an army after him commanded by Shigi Qutuqu.[9]

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6 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, pp. 121–122; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 1036–1037; al-Athīr, p. 393; al-Hadīd, p. 79; SWQZL /Asaraltu, pp. 51–52; Nuwayrī, pp. 326–327. According to Jūzjānī, approximately 600,000 were killed or about a quarter of the population. This is rather significant in my mind. Although Jūzjānī certainly has inflated the number of the dead and the overall population, this is a rare occasion in which Jūzjānī does not accuse the Mongols of slaughtering the entire population of a locale.

7 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 128; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 1048; *SHM*, §257; al-Athīr, p. 393. The *Secret History of the Mongols* lists Tolui specifically as the commander for the conquest of Sīstān, Harāt, Nīshāpūr, and Chukhcharān.

8 Jūzjānī/Habībī, vol. 1, p. 317; Jūzānī/Raverty, pp. 287–288; Nuwayrī, p. 253; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Nasawī, *Sīrah al-Sulṭan Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-Arabī, 1953), pp. 126–128; Mohammed En-Nasawi, *Histoire au Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankorbirti*, tran. O. Houdas (Paris: L'école des langues orientale vivantes, 1895), pp. 102–103, 108; SHM, §257. Henceforth Houdas' translation of Nasawī will be designated as Nasawi/Houdas. According to the SHM, Khan Malik or Qan-Melig as the Mongols called him, joined Jalāl al-Dīn because Toquchar had pillaged his domains and people. Qan-Melig had previously submitted to the Mongols. Afterwards, Chinggis Khan demoted Toquchar for disobeying orders and plundering the towns. He was almost executed. Jūzjānī also wrote that in 617 H, a year earlier, Malik Khan of Harāt and Jalāl al-Dīn joined forces at Ghazna. They gathered an army and moved towards Tukhāristān and routed a Mongol siege force at the fort of Walīstān. The Khwārazmians then returned to Ghazna (Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 1015–1016). It is possible that Jūzjānī simply was mistaken about the date of this action and that Fīḳū Noyan led the Mongols in Tukhāristān.

9 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. I., p. 316, vol. 2, p. 118; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 287–88, 1019–1021; Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, vol. 1, pp. 105, 137–138; Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 132, 406–407; Nuwayrī, p. 255. Jūzjānī lists that Fīkū or Fītkū Noyan, a güregen or son- in-law, commanded the army. Al-Dhahabī, *Kitab Duwal al-Islam* (*Les Dynasties de l'Islam*), trans., Arlette Negre (Damascus: Institute Français de Damas, 1979), pp. 209–210; Nuwayrī, pp. 327–28. Al-Dhahabī, Ibn al-Athīr (and Nuwayrī who uses Ibn al-Athīr as a source) list Tolui as the commander. This is clearly incorrect as he commanded forces in Khurāsān at this time, independent of the army led by Chinggis

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Shigi Qutuqu set out from Harāt to Ghazna in the heart of Afghanistan to locate Jalāl al-Dīn. Jalāl al-Dīn intercepted and defeated this force at Parwān, north of Kābul in 618 H.[10] Upon learning of Shigi Qutuqu's defeat, Chinggis Khan left Ṭālaqān and rode towards Ghazna in 618 H/ 1221. Jalāl al-Dīn fled as his troops were divided after quarrelling over booty from the victory over Shigi Qutuqu. Roughly half of Jalāl al-Dīn's army deserted over the issue.[11]

In 618 H/1221 Jalāl al-Dīn met Chinggis Khan on the field of battle at the Indus River and lost. With his army in disorder, Jalāl al-Dīn retreated across the river Indus and escaped, although Chinggis Khan sent Dörbei Doqshin in pursuit; this detachment also attacked Multān.[12] Meanwhile, Chinggis Khan

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Khan. Meanwhile, the SHM §256 lists Shigi-Qutuqu as the commander who was defeated. Considering that it is thought that Shigi Qutuqu may have written the SHM one must wonder if he was one of the commanders or inserted himself as a participant. Juwaynī and Nasawī also mentions the defeat of Shigi Qutuqu at Kandahar, however he is not killed in the battle. However, rather than proceeding immediately himself, he sent Tolui apparently as a vanguard. See Nasawī, pp. 134–137. Thus, it seems that Fīḳū Noyan and Shigi Qutuqu were the commanders of the initial force, but then Tolui, followed by Chinggis Khan pursued Jalāl al-Dīn to the Parwān plain. It is possible that the Fīḳū Noyan mentioned by Jūzjānī may be a combination (not etymologically) of Tekechūkh, a Mongol commander who accompanied Shigi Qutuqu, and Mö'etüken b. Chaghatai who was killed at Bāmiyān. Juwaynī states that Chinggis Khan ordered all living beings to be killed at Bāmiyān in retaliation. Boyle in his article on the Mongol commanders in Afghanistan is firm in his belief that Fīkū is indeed Shigi Qutuqu. See Boyle, "The Mongol Commanders in Afghanistan and India," pp. 236, 241.

10 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 1, 372–373; Jūzjānī/Raverty, 288–289.

11 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 1, p. 316, vol. 2, pp. 118–119; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 290–291, and 1021; al-Dhahabī/Negre, pp. 209–210; al-Athīr, p. 395; al-Ḥadīd, p. 80; Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, vol. 1, pp. 105, 138–139; Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 132–133, 407–408; Nasawī, pp. 154–155; Nasawī/Houdas, pp. 134–136; Nuwayrī, pp. 256–258; RD/RM, pp. 525–526; RD/Karīmī, pp. 375–376; RD/Thackston, p. 256 (Henceforth RD/Thackston); RD/Thackston 2012, p. 182. According to several Muslim authors, Jalāl al-Dīn reassembled the army and met a Mongol army led by Tolui. Jalāl al-Dīn destroyed the Mongols, massacred the prisoners and then killed Tolui. Upon hearing this, Chinggis Khan became extremely upset and assembled his army and marched towards Sind. After the defeat of the Mongols at Parwān, a dispute in Jalāl al-Dīn's army arose between the Ighrāks, ʿAjamīs, and Khwārazmians over booty. The Ighrāk troops deserted. Although Tolui did not take part or die, it can be confirmed that Chinggis Khan did advance upon Jalāl al-Dīn, which forced him from Ghūr. What is not certain is whether or not the commander of this force died in combat. According to Jūzjānī, Fīḳū Noyan or rather Shigi Qutuqu returned to Chinggis Khan and informed him of the defeats. Then Chinggis Khan decided to take matters into his own hands and marched to Ghazna.

12 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 1, p. 418; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 534–536. SHM §264. Jūzjānī indicates a Turtī Noyan commanded the Mongol force that entered India. The SHM states that Chinggis Khan sent Bala of the Jalayir to pursue Jalāl al-Dīn across the Indus while Chinggis Khan camped at the Parwān plain. The Mongols under Turtī Noyan besieged

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turned his attention to conquering the district of Ghūr. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether all of their actions in Ghūr preceded the Battle of the Indus or occurred after, or perhaps a combination of the two.

By 5 Dhū al-Ḥijja 619 H/24 June 1222 Chinggis Khan moved to the cooler environment of the Parwān Valley, north of Kābul and between Bāmiyān and Ghazna, to escape the summer heat. He remained in the vicinity into the autumn and put down an insurrection on November 5th (28 Ramaḍān 619 H) of that year.[13] Chinggis Khan stayed in Gībarī for three months and sent envoys to Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (r. 1210–1236), ruler of the Sultanate of Delhi in India.[14] While in Gībarī, Chinggis Khan dispatched Ögödei with an army into Ghūr and Khurāsān.[15] Ögödei then made his headquarters in a location between Ghūr and Ghazna called Pul-i-Āhangarān near Fīrūz-Kūh. While he campaigned in Ghūr, Ghazna, and Gharjistān, Ögödei also sent troops to Sīstān.[16]

Despite conquering virtually all of modern Afghanistan, the Mongols abandoned everything south of the Āmū Daryā when Chinggis Khan received news of the revolt of the Tangut against his viceroy Muqali.[17] The Amū Daryā served as a suitable frontier for the Mongols as Chinggis Khan withdrew in 1223 with the bulk of the army to deal with the Tangut rebellion a thousand miles away; during the course of which, Chinggis Khan died in 1227.

2 The Tamma of Dayir

The Mongols returned to the region in 1230. After Chinggis Khan withdrew to deal with the Tangut, the Mongols remained north of the Āmū Daryā, but Jalāl al-Dīn returned to the ruins of the Khwārazmian Empire. After a few brief encounters between Jalāl al-Dīn and Mongols stationed in Māwarānnahr in 1227, Ögödei Qa'an, the new Mongol ruler, sent Chormaqan Noyan, a Mongol general, with thirty thousand men to destroy Jalāl al-Dīn and bring the region south of the Āmū Daryā under control in 1230/627–628 H.

Multān for 42 days in 621 H, although there is some speculation whether Multān actually succumbed to the Mongols. Undoubtedly, Turtī Noyan is Dörbei.

13 Li Chich-ch'ang, *The Travels of an Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan recorded by his Disciple Li Chih-ch'ang*, trans. Arthur Waley (London: Routledge, 1931), p. 102.

14 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 126; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 1044–45.

15 Gībarī is located in the vicinity of the Kābul and Kūnar Rivers in Afghanistan.

16 Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 1047–1048; Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, pp. 126–128.

17 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, pp. 126–127; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 1046–47.

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During the pursuit and eventual defeat of Jalāl al-Dīn, Chormaqan remained in Īrān. While his lieutenants hunted Jalāl al-Dīn, Chormaqan secured the rest of Īrān, although Iṣfahān held out until 1237/634–635 H.[18] In the environs of Afghanistan, however, we find another Mongol commander active. At the same time that Chormaqan's armies entered Īrān, an army of two *tümens* commanded by the *tammachi* Dayir, Chormaqan's lieutenant, marched towards Kābul, Ghazna and Zābulistān. Dayir was an excellent choice as he had participated in the destruction of the Khwārazmian Empire.[19]

Dayir's orders indicated that he was to advance to Harāt and then to Nīmrūz. He then proceeded to Ghūr, Ghazna, and Lahore.[20] At Lahore, Anban Noyan and Negüder Noyan joined him with their forces from Khurāsān. Before Dayir's arrival, Anban and Negüder attacked Malik Sayf al-Dīn Ḥasan, the Qarluq, at Bāmiyān suggesting that the Mongols took a two-pronged approach to subduing the region. Malik Sayf al-Dīn Ḥasan submitted and offered tribute, as did the rulers of Ghūr and Khurāsān, but the Mongols rejected it and drove Malik Ḥasan out of Bāmiyān and Afghanistan altogether and into Sind.[21] Overall, the Mongols completed the conquest of Afghanistan rather quickly in the early 1230s. By then, however, Afghanistan had suffered considerable damage only a decade earlier during the Khwārazmian wars. As it had served as Jalāl al-Dīn's stronghold, and where he made a valiant, but failed, rally against the Mongols, the region perhaps suffered more than some other regions.

Despite conquering a large region, Dayir's territory gradually shrunk as part of it transitioned from military command to a civilian administration. As part of the evolution of the Mongol civil administration, civil administrators gradually took control of conquered territories and incorporated them into the Empire. Prior to the transfer of power from military control, the military governor haphazardly administered the conquered territory, often for the benefit of the military forces in the region, usually a *tamma*, and not for the imperial court. This transfer of power allowed the Mongols to maximize their

18 Al-Ḥadīd, vol. 3, p. 81; J. E. Woods, "A Note on the Mongol Capture of Isfahan," *JNES* 36 (1977): pp. 49–51.

19 Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, vol. 1, pp. 78–79; Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 100–1. For more on the position of the *tammachi* and the *tamma*, see Paul D. Buell, "Kalmyk Tanggaci People: Thoughts on the Mechanics and Impact on Mongol Expansion," *Mongolian Studies* 6 (1980): pp. 41–59. The calculation of the size of Dayir's army will be discussed further down. Jūzjānī suggests that Dayir inherited command of this tamma after his commander was killed at Ūk in Sīstān. Whom this noyan was is unknown. Juwaynī, however, indicates Dayir was the appointed tammachi from the start and in charge of operations in Sīstan. See Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 162; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 1126; Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, vol. 11, pp. 214, 221.

20 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 162; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 1126.

21 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, pp. 159, 162; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 1119, 1127–1128.

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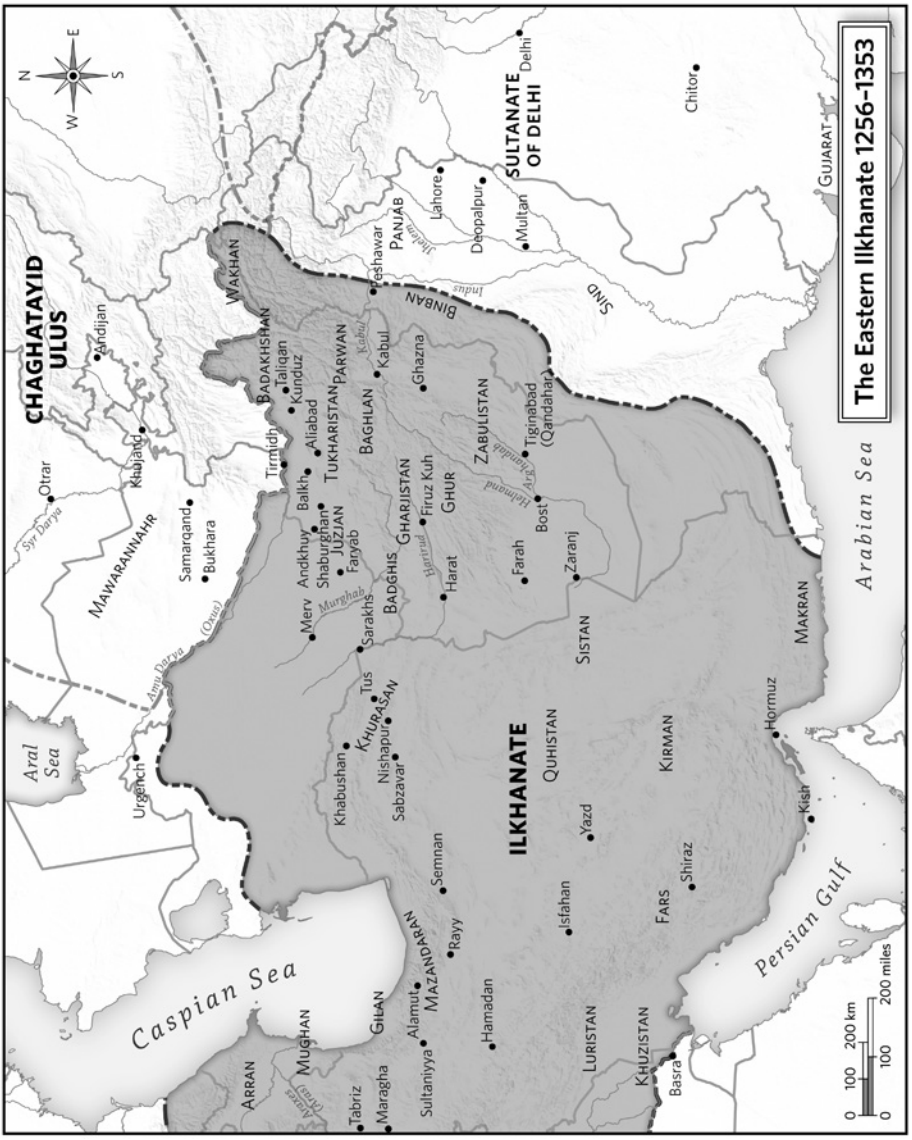

MAP 10.1 The Eastern Ilkhanate

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military resources by keeping the bulk of the troops in unstable regions and the frontiers, while the civilian governors needed only a minimal force in order to maintain control as part of what I term the *tsunami* strategy.[22] This process however, was not necessarily an easy transition. We see this in the transition of power from Dayir to a civilian governor named Chin-Temür.

When the armies of Chormaqan and Dayir crossed the Āmū Daryā, they conquered Khurāsān swiftly in 1231. They did not, however, eradicate all resistance and thus two lieutenants of Jalāl al-Dīn named Qaracha and Yaghan Sonqur caused turmoil in Khurāsān.[23] Chormaqan and Dayir did not devote enough attention to this insurgency and some areas rebelled against Mongol rule. Jalāl al-Dīn's amirs created enough chaos that Ögödei received word of it. In response, Ögödei ordered Dayir, who pastured his army in Bādghīs, to restore order in such a way that disorder should never again occur.[24] Juwaynī wrote that Dayir's orders were severe, "Such as had [hitherto] escaped the sword were to be cast upon the wind of annihilation, no one was to be left alive in the lands of Khurāsān and their dwellings and habitations were to be flooded with water so that no remains or trace thereof might survive."[25]

Meanwhile, Chin-Temür had sent Kül-Bolat to Nīshāpūr to deal with Qaracha. Kül-Bolat routed Qaracha and drove him from Khurāsān.[26] Dayir was halfway to Khurāsān when he received word that Kül-Bolat had defeated Qaracha. When Dayir learned that Qaracha was in Sīstān, he followed him there. After a campaign of two years, Sīstān succumbed.[27] While in Sīstān, Dayir sent a message to Chin-Temür stating that he was in control of Khurāsān by virtue of the command of Ögödei, and that Chin-Temür should withdraw.[28] Chin-Temür replied,

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22 Timothy May, "The Mongol Art of War and the Tsunami strategy" [Монгольское искусство войны и стратегия цунами], Золотоордынская цивилизация. Научный ежегодник [Golden Horde Civilization. Research Annual], Выпуск 8, Казань: Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани АН РТ, 8 (2015): pp. 31–37; Timothy May, "Mongol Conquest Strategy in the Middle East", in *Mongols' Middle East: Continuity and Transformation in Ilkhanid Iran*, ed. Bruno De Nicola and Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 11–37.

23 Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, Vol. 2, pp. 219–220; Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 483–484.

24 Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, Vol. 2, p. 221; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 485; RD/RM, pp. 660–661; RD/Karīmī, p. 470; RD/Thackston, Vol. 2, p. 323; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 229. Bādghīs was located north of the medieval region of Gharjistān. Harāt is to the west and the Āmū Daryā serves as the northern border. It is also a provincial name in modern Afghanistan. The Mongols frequently stationed troops there, most likely due to pasture considerations.

25 Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 485; Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, Vol. 2, p. 221.

26 Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, Vol. 2, p. 220; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 484.

27 Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, Vol. 2, p. 221; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 485; RD/RM, pp. 660–661; RD/Karīmī, p. 470; RD/Thackston, Vol. 2, p. 323; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 229.

28 Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, Vol. 2, p. 221; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 485; RD/RM, pp. 660–661; RD/Karīmī, p. 470; RD/Thackston, Vol. 2, p. 323; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 221.

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"The report of a rebellion by the people of Khurāsān was false. Why should so much territory and so many subjects be destroyed on account of Qaracha's crime. I am sending an emissary to the Qa'an's court to report the situation. I will proceed however I am ordered."[29]

At this point Chormaqan, Dayir's superior, intervened. He ordered Chin-Temür and his amirs to march west and join him with their armies. Furthermore, they were to abandon Khurāsān and Māzandarān to Dayir.[30] Chin-Temür apparently no longer felt he was under the command of Chormaqan and refused. After he consulted his advisors, Chin-Temür sent Kül-Bolat, "who was one of the confidential attendants of the Emperor of the Face of the Earth, should go taking with him some of the emirs of Khorasan [sic] who had already submitted."[31] Appropriately, Ögödei rendered a final decision on the matter.

In the end, Dayir was restricted to Ghūr or more generally, Afghanistan east of Harāt. Thus, in this interpretation, Khurāsān did not extend beyond Harāt. Meanwhile, Chormaqan's territory, which had extended from the Amu Daryā in the northeast to the Persian Gulf in the south, to the Zagros Mountains in the southwest, and to the Araxes River in the northwest, was greatly reduced. Chin-Temür may have claimed a right to govern Khurāsān and Māzandarān due to invasions dating back in 1227 when he sent forces against Jalāl al-Dīn. Chormaqan disagreed with this claim, as it is clear that until Chormaqan crossed the Āmū Daryā, the Mongols did not have any armies stationed in Khurāsān. Ögödei Qa'an, however, overruled and granted Chin-Temür a separate command. Furthermore, with Chin-Temür now in charge of a wide swath of territory between Chormaqan's forces and Dayir's command, Dayir effectively became an independent *tammachi* with his *tamma* now constituting a military force responsible only to the Qa'an, which also diminished the authority of Chormaqan.

While the transition to a civil government restricted Dayir, as a *tammachi* he found new opportunities to increase his influence. India, particularly Sind and Panjāb, offered ripe opportunities not only for plunder but also to extend Mongol territory, although since Chinggis Khan's invasion, many cities had

29 RD/Thackston 2012, p. 229; RD/RM, pp. 660–661; RD/Karīmī, p. 470; RD/Thackston, Vol. 2, p. 323; Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, Vol. 2, p. 221; Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 485.

30 Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, Vol. 2, pp. 221–22; Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 485–486; RD/RM, pp. 660–661; RD/Karīmī, p. 470; RD/Thackston, Vol. 2, p. 323; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 229.

31 Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 486; Juwaynī/Qazvīnī, Vol. 2, p. 222; RD/RM, pp. 660–661; RD/Karīmī, p. 470; RD/Thackston, Vol. 2, p. 323; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 229.

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submitted to the Sultanate of Delhi out of fear of a Mongol return.[32] While conquering the region was difficult due to the climate, the Mongols could rule through proxies. During his period as *tammachi*, a former Khwārazmian officer, Ḥasan Qarluq submitted to Mongol authority, which brought the city of Binbān into Mongol orbit, stretching the Mongol Empire to the Indus River. His son, Nāṣir al-Dīn renewed those ties.[33]

3 The Tamma after Dayir

As more of the region came under the control of the civil authority, Dayir's *tamma* moved forward towards the borders of modern Pakistan or what became known as *Sarḥadd-i Hindūstān*, with most of the *tamma* stationed in Ṭālaqān, Kunduz, Baghlān, Badakhshān, and Ghazna, although Bādghīs remained an important pasture. From central Afghanistan, Dayir's troops raided into India with a major attack on Lahore in 1241/639 H.[34] The city fell but according to Jūzjānī, the Mongols suffered heavy casualties, although his numbers should not be trusted.[35] Indeed, it was at the siege of Lahore that Dayir died on 22 December 1241/16 Jumādā II 639 H, possibly being the reason why the Mongols withdrew after the destruction of the city.[36]

With Khurāsān firmly under the control of the civilian administrators, Ghūr and the rest of Afghanistan became the domain of the *tamma*. After Dayir's death, the *tamma* passed into the command of Mönggetü, who established his headquarters in the environs of Ṭālaqān. An experienced commander, Mönggetü had pillaged the region of Ghūr during the Khwārazmian campaign, demonstrating his appointment may not have not have been random.[37] Indeed, as both Dayir and Chormaqan had been active in the Khwārazmian campaign, it further solidifies the idea that the Mongols valued the experience

32 Zīāu-d dīn Barnī, "Tārīkh-ī Fīroz Shāhī", tr. H. M. Elliot, in *The History of India as Told By Its Own Historians*, vol. 3, ed. John Dowson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 98.

33 Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World from Conquest to Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 246.

34 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 163; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 1133; Aubin, p. 72. Jūzjānī indicates that Mongols brought several catapults against Lahore, suggesting that this was not simply a pillaging expedition.

35 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 175; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 1135.

36 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 175; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 1135; Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 105.

37 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 136; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 1063.

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of the commanders and placed commanders in the situations that facilitated success. Although Güyük confirmed Mönggetü in his position as *tammachi*,[38] Mönggetü was one of the leading commanders when Ögödei first dispatched the army. According to Jūzjānī, Chormaqan was sent toward Īrān and ʿIrāq and Mönggetü to Ghazna, Tukhāristān, Kunduz, and Ṭālaqān.[39] As discussed earlier, Dayir was active in Sīstān, but appears to have held seniority in the region as Jūzjānī later indicates that Dayir was in charge of the same region that Ögödei directed Mönggetü to invade.[40] It is likely that of the two *tümen* dispatched to the region in 1230, Dayir led one tümen and Mönggetü led the second. By Güyük's reign, however, Mönggetü was quite elderly.[41] While Mönggetü served as the primary *tammachi* after Dayir's death, Huqutu (Ququtu?) became the commander of the second *tümen*. Despite his age, Mönggetü invaded Sind in 1245–1246/642–644 H and invested the city of Uchch. While the Mongols did considerable damage, they withdrew before the approach of a sizeable army from Delhi.[42]

With Möngke's (r. 1251–1259) ascension to the Mongol throne, the new Qa'an took advantage of the situation and placed a Toluid supporter in charge of the *Sarḥadd-i Hindūstān*. Sali Noyan became the leading *tammachi* in the region. There, he commanded the two *tümens* from the previous *tammachin*, Mönggetü and Huqutu. These troops were stationed in Kunduz, Baghlān and Badakhshān and controlled a frontier that stretched from Khurāsān to Hindūstān. Although Rashīd al-Dīn indicates that Möngke confirmed Mönggetü in his position, it is likely that Mönggetü died before Möngke even assumed the throne. After Mönggetü died, his lieutenant, Huqutu assumed the reins of authority over the *tamma*. Huqutu died, however, in early 647 H/1250.[43] Thus, it seems likely

38 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 169; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 1152.

39 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 153; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 1109.

40 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 162; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 1126.

41 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 169; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 1152.

42 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, pp. 54–57, 169; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 809–813, 1153–54; RD/RM, pp. 87–88; RD/Thackson 2012, p. 35; RD/Karīmī, pp. 66, 415; RD/Thackston, vol. 1, p. 49, vol. 2, p. 283.

43 RD/RM, pp. 87–88, 612–13; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 35; RD/Karīmī, p. 66; 415; RD/Thackston, Vol. 1, p. 49 & Vol. 2, p. 283; Rashīd al-Dīn indicates that his territory included Kashmīr, Badakhshān, and Balkh. Also, see Boyle, "Mongol Commanders," pp. 240, 242. Mönggetü is also listed as Mangutah Noyan. Boyle believes this commander to be the same as the Mönggetei found in SHM and lists Oqotur as Huqutu. Huqutu is most likely Ququtu in Mongolian. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions a Hulqutu who was the uncle of Qutlughshāh Noyan, one of Ghazan's commanders. Rashīd al-Dīn refers to him as a Qara'una *tümen-u noyan*, but this surely cannot be Huqutu mentioned here as Qutlughshāh Noyan was active forty to fifty years after Huqutu' death. The similarities in their names seems a coincidence. See RD/RM, p. 195; RD/Thackston p. 195; RD/Karīmī, p. 147; RD/Thackston, vol. 1, p. 103.

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that Möngke only learned of both commander's death sometime later – not surprising considering the turmoil of the Toluid Revolution.

Despite the broad swath of territory and independent command, Sali Noyan was subordinate to Hülegü, Möngke's brother who had recently arrived in the Middle East. Still, as a proper *tammachi* he expanded Mongol control by conquering Kashmir. In addition, Sali raided India on numerous occasions, sending many slaves to Hülegü.[44] Although Aubin indicates that Sali had been part of the *tamma* prior to the reign of Möngke and took part in the operations against Lahore and Multān in 644–645 H/1246–47, Rashīd al-Dīn indicates that Möngke personally selected Sali and sent him with reinforcements to the *tamma*.[45] In 1256, Sali Noyan's armies reached Multān and dismantled their defenses. His actions gained the attention of the Sultanate of Delhi, but unlike with Mönggetü's invasion, the Delhi army did not march against the Mongols. Despite the cries of *jihād*, the Sultanate seemed more concerned with preventing the Mongols from further advances and thus resigned Multān to its fate. Nonetheless, the Sali withdrew after approximately four months before the heat came.[46]

While Sali Noyan and previous *tammachin* secured their hold over Ghūr and annexed Kashmīr, their forays caused concern for the Sultanate of Delhi, whose borders reached to the Indus River and into Sind. The Sultanate had to remain vigilant to prevent the *tammachin* from acquiring any of its own territory.[47] Nonetheless, the Sultanate could do little to prevent the Mongols from raiding and even sacking towns such as Lahore and Multān, suggesting that the Sultanate abandoned Panjāb to its fate. Furthermore, the presence of the *tammachin* in Ghūr served as a beacon of resistance to the Sultanate of Delhi by those who sought alternatives. Of course, these were other princes who vied for the Delhi throne and established client principalities on the border with the Delhi Sultanate, thus providing the Mongols with a potential avenue into Indian politics and conquest at a future date should the possibility arise.[48] Indeed, Jalāl al-Dīn Masʿūd, the brother of the Delhi Sultan, Nāṣir

44 RD/RM, p. 88; RD/Karīmī, p. 66; RD/Thackston, Vol. 1, p. 49; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 35.

45 Aubin, p. 73; RD/RM, p. 88; RD/Karīmī, p. 66; RD/Thackston, Vol. 1, p. 49; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 35.

46 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, pp. 76–77; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 844–46.

47 Aziz Ahmad, "Mongol Pressure in an Alien Land," *Central Asiatic Journal* 6 (1961), p. 182; Simon Digby, *War-Horse and Elephant in the Delhi Sultanate: A Study of Military Supplies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 21; Aubin, p. 73. Digby wrote that Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban apparently limited his military operations against the rest of India because of the threat of Mongols raids and invasions. This kept his army close to Delhi and the north.

48 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 49.

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al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Iltutmish (1246–1266), came to Qaraqorum and actively sought the Mongols' aid. Sali's army established Jalāl al-Dīn in Lahore around 650 H/1252.[49] Sind also came under Mongol authority as well. Küshlü Khan, the ruler there, visited Hülegü in 655 H/1257 and requested a *shāḥna*, a clear sign of submission to the Mongols.[50] Although Küshlü Khan submitted directly to Hülegü (as one would expect), undoubtedly, it was Sali Noyan and the Afghanistan *tamma*'s presence that forced Küshlü Khan to consider his options. Indeed, it is unlikely that Küshlü Khan could have reached Hülegü without Sali's assistance. While the *tamma* remained in Afghanistan, these satellite kingdoms now gave the Mongols forward operating bases which continued to worry the Sultanate and prevented it from dealing with rebels elsewhere in the Sultanate of Delhi.[51] Indeed, concern about the Mongol frontier proved to always be in the forefront of the mind of any Sultan ruling from Delhi.[52]

With the death of Möngke in 1259, unified Mongol authority in Afghanistan diminished and the empire fractured in to the Great Khanate in East Asia, the Ögödeyid and Chaghatayid Khanates in Central Asia, the Il-Khanate that dominated the Middle East, and the Jochid Khanate consisting of the regions north of the Black, Caspian, and Aral seas. Much of present-day Afghanistan remained in the hands of the Ilkhanate of Persia, but some of it gradually transitioned to the Chaghatayids. With the establishment of the Ilkhanate, Hülegü asserted new authority in the region and altered the frontier again. Afghanistan transformed from a source of concern for the Sultanate of Delhi to a secure frontier. According to Jūzjānī, in 1260, Hülegü gave strict orders to Sali that his troops should not enter the dominions of the Sultanate, even threatening to lop off the feet of their horses! The order caused all raiding to cease as Jūzjānī, never one to miss criticizing the Mongols, noted that the Sultanate enjoyed great security during this period.[53] Peter Jackson has noted that while Jūzjānī paints this as a peace treaty between equals, evidence suggests that Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn actually submitted to the Mongols.[54] Thus while, the Caucasus and Khurāsān frontiers would prove problematic, the *Sarḥadd-i Hindūstān* was secure.

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49 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 310; Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 246.

50 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, pp. 38–40; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 784–785; Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 246.

51 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 169; Jūzjānī/Raverty, p. 850.

52 Barnī, pp. 102–3.

53 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, p. 88; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 859–63.

54 Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, pp. 83–8; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 856–63; Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 114.

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4 Negüderis and Qara'una

Ilkhanid issues with Afghanistan began during the reign of Hülegü (1260–1265). Malik Shams al-Dīn Kart submitted to Hülegü when the Mongol prince was in Māwarānnahr, probably in November 1255/Shaʿbān 653 H. In gratitude, Hülegü appointed him as governor of Harāt, Sabzavār (now in Iran), Ghūr, and Gharcha.[55] The addition of Ghūr further reduced the territory of Dayir's (now Sali's) *tamma*, but also demonstrates the continuing transition of *tamma* territory to civil (imperial or local) control. Furthermore, the transition of Ghūr and Gharjistān, isolated the pastures in Bādghīs, located north of the mountainous Gharjistān. While not stated, if Bādghīs was also transferred, the *tamma* then lost significant pastures. In the thirteenth century, while some towns may have existed, it appears that Bādghīs remained largely a wasteland (i.e. not farmed).[56] Yet, while Hülegü transferred authority of these regions to the Kartids, it is not clear if the *tamma* completely vacated the region and where they relocated.

Not all of Afghanistan, however, was firmly under Hülegü's control. Troops assigned as part of Hülegü's army included troops from the Jochid Ulus. After war erupted between Berke and Hülegü, those Jochid troops commanded by Tutar and Quli fled to Khurāsān and Ghazna to take refuge in the mountains in 1262. Hülegu executed Tutar and Quli earlier and their men had no direct route back to the Jochid Ulus. In Ghazna, they were able to establish their control from there to Multān and Lahore under the command of Negüder Noyan, who had accompanied Dayir into Afghanistan.[57] When Hülegü first arrived in Khurāsān, Negüder and a portion of the *tamma* joined him. When war broke out with the Jochids, Negüder avoided execution, but was defeated by Hülegü and led the surviving Jochid forces back to familiar territory.[58] There they remained an autonomous force for most of the thirteenth century and were referred to alternatively as Qara'una and Negüderis, after Negüder. Marco Polo described Negüder as a king of the Qara'una and that "He makes war on the

55 RD/RM, p. 1105; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 382. Gharcha most likely refers to Gharchistān, also spelled as Gharjistān, or the region north of the Murghāb and Harī Rivers and east of Harāt, in modern Badghis province. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 415–16. The date is based on John Masson Smith, Jr., "Hülegü Move West: High Living and Heartbreak on the Road to Baghdad", in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan,* ed. Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 115.

56 Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 412–414.

57 MP/Yule, pp. 98–99; MP/Latham, p. 65; MP/Marsden, p. 39; MP/Moule-Pelliot, pp. 121–122; MP/Cliff, pp. 36–37; MP/Kinoshita, p. 29; RD/RM, p. 739; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 256.

58 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 115.

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other Tartars who live round his kingdom."[59] Curiously, Polo also remarked that he was the nephew of Chaghadai.[60] This will be discussed more below.

Negüder did indeed control a veritable kingdom. The territory of Binbān entered Negüderi hands immediately, assisted by the fact that the Afghanistan *tamma* acquired it after Hülegü ordered the execution of Nāsir al-Din Muḥammad, a pretender to the throne of Delhi who was accused of treachery in 1260.[61] Negüder also extended his authority to Lahore. Marco Polo describes this achievement by stating that Negüder drove out 'Izz al-Dīn Küshlü Khan (Polo's Asdin), out of Lahore where he served as the ruler of the city and acting governor on behalf of the Sultanate of Delhi.[62] According to Jackson, however, Küshlü Khan never ruled Lahore.[63] Negüderi authority in Sind and Panjāb varied, however and the Sultanate of Delhi did reacquire Lahore and Sind in the 1260s during the reign of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balaban (1266–1287).[64] While the Negüderi reference naturally comes from their Jochid leader, the term Qara'una, according to Marco Polo, is because the Qara'una were not Mongol per se, but the offspring of Mongols and female Indian slaves gained from their devastating raids over the Hindu Kush Mountains.[65]

59 MP/Latham, p. 65; MP/Marsden, p. 39; MP/Yule-Cordier, pp. 98–99; MP/Moule-Pelliot, p. 122; MP/Cliff, p. 36; MP/Kinoshita, p. 29.

60 MP/Lathem, p. 65; MP/Marsden; p. 39; MP/Yule-Cordier, p. 98; MP/Moule-Pelliot, p. 121; MP/Cliff, p. 36; MP/Kinoshita, p. 29.

61 Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 246; Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, pp. 93–94; 115–16.

62 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 115; MP/Yule-Cordier, pp. 98–99; MP/Latham, p. 65; MP/Marsden, p. 39; MP/Moule-Pelliot, pp. 120–21; MP/Cliff, pp. 36–37; MP/Kinoshita, p. 29; Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, vol. 2, pp. 76–77; Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 844–46.

63 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 115.

64 Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 246; Jūzjānī/Ḥabībī, pp. 93–94; 115–16; Barnī, p. 107.

65 MP/Lathem, p. 64; MP/Marsden, p. 39; MP/Yule-Cordier, p. 98; MP/Moule-Pelliot, p. 121; MP/Cliff, pp. 36–37; MP/Kinoshita, p. 29; Aubin, p. 68. Aubin was the first to suggest in 1976 that the Qarāūnās were the descendants of Sali Noyan's raids. Shimo recognizes that Polo's definition of Qarāūnās should not be blindly accepted as Qarāūnā does not have a definition of "children of mixed breed" in Mongolian. In Shimo's view, "The mixed breed born between the men of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate,' as he referred to this region, and indigenous Indian women were probably known by the distinguishing name of Qarāūnās because of some externally visible characteristic, and we may suppose that the word too was expressive of such an external characteristic. It would seem almost certain that the Qarāūnās, being mixed children from Indian women, would have been darker in colour than ordinary Mongols, and we may suppose the '*qara*' of 'qara'unas' was a transcription of the sound '*khara*' or '*qara*' which means 'black' in Mongol." He also argues, based on Prof. Kazuo Enoki that the 'una might be a transcription of Xiongnu. Thus, Qarāūnā is Black Xiongnu. See Shimo, pp. 175–176.

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This group or groups, regardless of identity, are interesting. The two authors who should have something to say about Negüder are strangely silent. Jūzjānī does not discuss Negüder in a leadership role and Juwaynī mentions him only in passing in connection to Dayir's arrival, but that is all. Thus, prior to the arrival of Hülegü it is likely he was a *minggan-u noyan* (commander of thousand) and not the major figure with the *tamma*. Negüder apparently was promoted to *tümen-ü noyan* by Sali or Hülegü, in order to lead part of the *tamma* of Dayir westward with Hülegü, although it is possible he only commanded a few *minggad*. With the fracture between Jochids and Toluids, Negüder, who originated from the Jochid Ulus prior to his *tamma* assignment, then augmented the *tamma* with Jochid troops.

Yet, we should ask whether or not there was a difference between the Negüderis and the Qara'unas or should they be considered the same. The confusion over the Negüderis and the Qara'una is not surprising, particularly as Marco Polo may have initiated the muddling of terms. As Peter Jackson notes, the two terms often seem to be interchangeable in the sources. Indeed, in some sources they are synonyms.[66] Still, the two should be considered separate, but overlapping. The Negüderis refer specifically to those who followed Negüder and maintained an independent status while the Qara'una were the *tamma* troops and their offspring. There was a fine line between the two and Qara'una could be part of the Negüderis but it is not clear that all of the Qara'una followed Negüder. As indicated by Joo-Yup Lee, this remained the situation into the early sixteenth century.[67] Qara'una as a term must have developed in the post-dissolution period as it is not used prior to 1260. Just as Negüder is largely a lacuna in Juwaynī and Jūzjānī's accounts, neither the term Negüderi nor Qara'una appear within those volumes, although the Negüderis fled to Afghanistan from western Iran with the rise of tensions between Berke and Hülegü. The fact that Jūzjānī omits the term indicates that the term Negüderi developed over time.

It is important to remember that Dayir's *tamma* originally consisted of two *tümen*. This can be verified not only in later reports about Mönggetü and Huqutu, but also in the reports about Chormaqan's invasions. While Juwaynī and others indicated that Chormaqan invaded with thirty thousand men, Jūzjānī recorded counted fifty thousand troops. The discrepancy between the two is that thirty thousand went with Chormaqan while the remaining two tümen accompanied Dayir. Furthermore, Jūzjānī states that Dayir's army

66 Jackson "Mongols of Central Asia", p. 94.

67 Joo-Yup Lee, *Qazaqlïq, or Ambitious Brigandage, and the Formation of the Qazaqs* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 63.

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consisted of "Mughals and other races of Turkistān, and captives of Khurāsān."[68] Thus, part of it may have been recruited after the initial invasion.

The exact number is irrelevant, but it certain that three tümen accompanied Chormaqan while two went with Dayir. Furthermore, the *tamma* consisted of a number of different groups and drew from the patrimonies of all of the Chinggisids.[69] There is no indication that the *tamma* was accompanied by families. Indeed, unlike the migration of Hülegü to the Middle East, there is no discussion in the sources of women and children accompanying the deployment of a *tamma* regardless of the region, although it should not be discounted. Still, the speculation that the Qara'una of the later thirteenth century were the offspring of the Mongol troops and Indian women appears to be correct as the Mongols captured certainly considered women as booty during their raids. As Shimo indicates, since the arrival of *tamma* in the region, a generation had passed.[70] What is perhaps more notable is that the Mongols consciously procured women from the *Sarḥadd-i Hindūstān* and not from the territories that they controlled, perhaps learning from the lesson of Qorchi's actions among the *Hoy-in Irgen*.[71] Nonetheless, the Negüderis and the Qara'una played a pivotal role in Ilkhanid control of what is now modern Afghanistan.

More to the point, while the *tamma* began as two *tümen*, it increased over time not only with occasional reinforcements such as Sali's army, but through procreation and then Jochid troops who took refuge with Negüder, thus making them a considerable military force. As mentioned above, Marco Polo stated they waged war on all and were a considerable danger. Polo comments on their destruction in the region of Hormuz as an example. So great was their threat that it led to the decline of Hormuz as well as the overland route through the Wakhan Corridor while also facilitating the rise of Kīsh as a port.[72] Regarding the Negüderis' threat to the Delhi Sultanate, Peter Jackson noted, "The strength of the Negüderis was sufficiently modest not to jeopardize the survival of the

68 Juwaynī/Boyle, Jūzjānī/Raverty, 1115–1117; Jūzjānī records that it totaled 100,000 total including the captives, but the initial number would be appropriate for the army. While fifty thousand men might be possible, nonetheless, we can assume that a total of five tümen did invade. Aboul-Ghazi Béhadour Khan, *Histoire des Mongoles et des Tartares*, tr. Petr I. Desmaisons (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1970), p. 146; BH/Budge, p. 394. Bar Hebraeus and Abu'l Ghazi both record 30,000, although it should be accepted that Aboul-Ghazi probably used Juwaynī's numbers in his sixteenth century history.

69 Aubin, pp. 75, 78.

70 Shimo, pp. 167–168.

71 SHM, §241.

72 See Qiu Yihao, "Background and Aftermath of Fakhr al-Dīn Ṭībī's Voyage: A Reexamination of the Interaction between the Ilkhanate and the Yuan at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century" in this volume.

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Sultanate, but still powerful enough to form yet another barrier in India's defence, obstructing any expansionist tendencies on the part of the Mongols of Persia or Transoxiana."[73] Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban spent considerable effort securing the regions of Lahor, Sannām, and Dīpālpur.[74] In commenting on the Negüderis specifically, Jackson suggests that the *tamma* had become independent with the rise of Negüder.

Yet, Negüder may not have commanded all of the *tamma* after his return to Afghanistan. It is uncertain when Sali died, but Rashīd al-Dīn indicates that Sali's son Aladu Noyan took the reins of command after Sali's death. His brothers and his sons became *minggan-u noyad* or commanders of a thousand.[75] Thus it is possible that not all of the Afghanistan *tamma* joined Negüder. Undoubtedly, some *tamma* troops joined Negüder due to dissatisfaction with Hülegü's policies regarding Ghūr and Gharjistān. As with it occurred during the period of Chormaqan and Dayir, although the transfer of authority from military (*tamma*) authority to civil occurred, it did not mean that the *tammachin* agreed with the decision. While Ghazna became Negüder's base, there is no indication that the rest of the *tamma* was also stationed there, although some of the *tamma* undoubtedly filled the void with Negüder originally joined Hülegü in 1256. Still, it seems unlikely that the entire *tamma* relocated from Gharjistān and Ghūr to Ghazna as one must question whether the pastures around Ghazna would have sustained the livestock of the entire for the long term. Furthermore, Ghūr had also been shifted to Kartid control, thus requiring the *tamma* to vacate it. So whither the *tamma?*

Dayir's *tamma* occupied the regions of Ṭālaqān, Kunduz, Baghlān, Bādghīs, Badakhshān, Ghūr, and Ghazna. Monggetü apparently used Ṭālaqān as his primary base, while Sali occupied Ghūr when he served as *tammachi*. Of course, after Ghūr became the domain of the Kartids, his forces, theoretically, had to move from there as well as Bādghīs. Indeed, it is certain that the *tamma* abandoned Bādghīs to the Kartids, as we often find other, non-*tamma* troops stationed there later. Rather than Kartids, these usually appear to be Mongol troops, but non-Qara'una. As a result, I suspect that most of the *tamma* shifted further north and east towards Badakhshān. Both Kunduz and Ṭālaqān are in areas that do have pasture. While both Ghūr and Bādghīs would have been a blow to the *tamma*, their addition to Harāt is sensible from an imperial perspective. Furthermore, as Sali brought Kashmīr under Mongol authority,

73 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 119.

74 Barnī, pp. 108–9.

75 RD/RM, p. 88; RD/Karīmī, p. 66; RD/Thackston, Vol. 1, p. 49; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 35.

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the northern location also makes sense for the projection of power into the Pamir region.

As the Hindu Kush Mountains between Ghazna and Ghūr are a formidable obstacle even today, Ghazna experienced a considerable degree of autonomy and independence as evinced in different periods of history whereas relatively few obstacles hinder communication between Harāt and Ghūr as one can travel along the Harīrūd River from Harāt to Ghūr. Indeed this river also separated Ghūr from Bādghīs. At the same time, we must not dismiss the idea that Negüder gradually gained ascendency. He had served in the region since the *tamma* first arrived and thus had considerable seniority and perhaps support. Thus, while Negüder possessed Ghazna, there is little evidence that suggests they controlled north of that. Negüder's domain seemed to stretch south into modern Pakistan, particularly Panjāb and dangerously close to Sind. Furthermore, Negüderi attacks in Kirmān and Hormuz suggests that the Negüderis reached into Sīstān as well.[76] In addition to Ghazna, the Negüderis tended to operate from Bini-yi Gav, which Peter Jackson believes to be near Quetta.[77] Based on their operations, this is a reasonable proposal.

Despite wars with the Jochids, the Ilkhans did not forget the Negüderis. This is evinced in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*; he not only mentions their actions and place in history, but also lists several commanders of various levels in his discussion of Mongol tribes.[78] In doing so, he reveals through these passing mentions that these commanders were known to the Ilkhanid court. Both Hülegü and Abaqa sent expeditions against them, attempting to restore Ilkhanid authority in all of Afghanistan.[79] After Abaqa defeated the Chaghatayid Khan, Baraq at Harāt, a number of Chaghatayids defected to the Ilkhanate.[80] These defectors included Mubārak Shāh, the son of Ergene Khatun. Baraq had displaced Mubārak Shāh, and with Qaidu's dominance in the Chaghatayid *ulus*, Mubārak Shāh had little likelihood of claiming the

76 It is difficult to determine the exact extent, as Ilkhanid authority in Sīstān often seemed tentative, although this was certainly due to the influence of the Negüderis. Furthermore, in some cases, Ghazna was included as part of Sīstān. Regardless, control of Ghazna provided the Negüderis an excellent summer pasture based as its elevation provided a cooler climate. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 348–351.

77 Jackson, "Mongols of Central Asia", p. 93.

78 RD/RM, pp. 160, 178, 195; RD/Karīmī, pp. 123, 136, 147; RD/Thackston, Vol. 1, pp. 86, 96, 103; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 61, 67, 73.

79 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 119.

80 For the battle of Harāt, see Michal Biran, "The Battle of Herat (1270): A Case of Inter-Mongol Warfare", in Nicola Di Cosmo, ed., *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (*500–1800*), Handbook of Oriental Studies section 8 Central Asia (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 175–220. More on this battle below.

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Chaghatayid crown after Baraq's death. Abaqa used him to establish Ilkhanid authority over the Negüderis.[81] Mubārak Shāh did indeed take over Ghazna, but since he later died in 1275–76 while raiding Kirmān, Professor Jackson suggests "that his allegiance to the Ilkhan was superficial."[82] It is difficult to disagree. Indeed, one suspects that Mubārak Shāh may have decided this was an opportunity to establish a new Chaghatayid realm in the face of Qaidu's dominance north of the Āmū Daryā. While Mubārak Shāh gained ascendency in Ghazna, it is unclear what happened to Negüder. He obviously died at some point, but it is not clear when but prior to Mubārak Shāh's arrival seems appropriate. Indeed, perhaps it was Negüder's death that opened the door for Abaqa's plan.

5 Ilkhanid Authority Restored?

Khurāsān became a contested frontier with the Chaghatayid Ulus almost immediately after the dissolution of the empire. With the Chaghatayid Khanate just across the Āmū Daryā River, Chaghatayid ambitions towards Khurāsān necessitated the assignment of an Ilkhanid army to the region. Additionally, the Negüderis were near and in a position to raid Khurāsān as well as other regions in Īrān. While it is usually considered part of the larger region of Īrān, Khurāsān is also part of regional Afghanistan and had implications for the area. Often it served as the patrimony of a prince and usually under the mentorship of an *atābak*,[83] but several leading generals also were stationed there, usually at Bādghīs much as Dayir's *tamma* had originally been. The military presence was necessary as the Chaghatayids invaded the region several times. The first invasion was Baraq's ill-fated expedition to expand his domains rather than face Qaidu and his Jochid supporters. The Ilkhan Abaqa defeated him at Harāt in 1270 as mentioned earlier.[84] Interestingly, Masʿūd Beg, the *wazīr* in the Chaghatayid Khanate, advised him not to pillage the peasants if he intended to conquer the region.[85]

81 RD/RM, p. 772; RD/Karīmī, p. 548; RD/Thackston, Vol. 2, p. 378; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 268.

82 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 119.

83 See Hope in this volume.

84 See Biran, "The Battle of Herat (1270)," *passim.*

85 Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Husayni Khwandamir, *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World: Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties*, vol. 2, *Habibu's-Siyar: The History of the Mongols and Genghis Khan*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), pp. 47–48; Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabību's Siyar*, vol. 3 (Tehran: Khayyam Press, 1954), p. 84. Henceforth Khwandamir and Khwāndamīr, respectively.

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As mentioned earlier, the Battle of Harāt had a number of ramifications for the region. It prevented Chaghatayid expansion in to the region. Nonetheless, it brought Chaghatayids disaffected with Qaidu's dominance into the Ilkhanid realm. While Mubārak Shāh failed to demonstrate appreciation for Abaqa's generosity, Abaqa was not one to let slights go unnoticed. While I surmise that Mubārak Shāh may have attempted to establish an independent realm, Abaqa did not allow Mubārak Shāh's son to establish a dynasty. Instead, Abaqa placed another Chaghatayid, Böjei, in the region over the Negüderis. Böjei's son, ʿAbd-Allāh remained active in the region and raided India.[86] This move still did not quell the Negüderis rapacious appetites, however. In 1278, ʿAbd-Allāh's Negüderis pillaged Fārs and Kirmān, reaching the gates of Shīrāz as well.[87]

After the raids in Kirmān and Fārs, as well as the Negüderis' role in supporting rebels in Kirmān, Abaqa moved into the region in 1279, resting at Harāt. Abaqa dispatched his son Arghun to Sīstān on 14 July 1279. Here, the Chaghatayids in exile, including Mubārak Shāh's sons, showed obeisance.

Meanwhile, the Negüderi *noyans* submitted to Abaqa at Harāt. Abaqa appears to have abandoned his plans to use the Chaghatayids as proxies to control the Negüderis. Instead, he left his son Arghun in the region, where the latter then moved into Ghūr and Gharjistān.[88] Abaqa also forced a number of the Negüderi *noyad* to accompany him west.[89] Undoubtedly, he sought to dilute the Negüderi threat, but also perhaps use their martial prowess on other fronts as well. This did not quell the Negüderis completely as they continued to menace provinces such as Shīrāz and Hurmuz afterwards.[90] Unfortunately, it is not clear whether these were true Negüderis or actually Qara'unas. As Arghun was active in Ghūr and Gharjistān, rather than Ghazna, I am not convinced that Abaqa brought the Negüderis under control and thus needed a Chinggisid with a military force present to ensure their good behavior. While the Chaghatayid refugees may have submitted, it is not certain that the Negüderis did. Furthermore, as Arghun nomadised in Ghūr and Gharjistān, he returned to the pastures originally used by Dayir, suggesting that this region

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Supposedly after his defeat, Baraq converted to Islam in Bukhara and became known as Sultan Ghiyath al-Din. Several days later he became paralyzed. Qaidu poisoned him in 1270/668.

86 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 121; Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 195.

87 RD/RM, p. 109; RD/Karīmī, pp. 772–773; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 540; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 383–84. It is not clear if ʿAbd-Allāh accompanied them on this raid.

88 RD/RM, pp. 1109–1110; RD/Karīmī, p. 773; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 541; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 384; Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 121.

89 Ibid.

90 Jackson, *The Mongols and Islamic World*, p. 197.

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was no longer under the purview of the Kartids in Harāt and that transfer to the Kartids may have contributed to the instability in the region.

Whereas Hülegü's reign initially brought some peace to the Sind frontier, Abaqa's reign did quite the opposite. Two factors played into this. First, Abaqa's strident efforts to bring the Negüderis under control limited their raids on the Ilkhanate. The economic need and desire to raid, however, forced them to enter Sind. The other factor was that Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, the Kartid ruler of Harāt was also more aggressive and captured Qandahār in 1281, thus placing further limits on the Negüderi territory.[91] It is not certain if he did this at the behest of Abaqa in an effort to confine the Negüderis, or if it was his own expansion. Either way, it forced the Negüderis to turn towards India.

We should not forget Abaqa's Negüderi/Qara'una contingent, however. Although they submitted to Abaqa in 1278–1279, they proved to be both a boon and a bane to the Ilkhans. While they were a formidable military force, they were also unruly and only a strong ruler such as Abaqa could keep them in check. During the civil war between Aḥmad and Arghun, the "Negüderis" that Abaqa enlisted seemed to favor Arghun. This may have also had to do with the fact that his appanage had been in Ghūr and Gharjistān.[92] During the civil wars during between Tegüder and Arghun, Abaqa's Negüderis' pillaging went unchecked in Īrān.[93] This wanton destruction, however, may simply have been due to the vagaries of civil war. In 1284, Nawrūz led a tümen of Qara'unas in support of Arghun for the battle of Aq Khwāja (4 May 1284).[94] The Qara'unas deserted in a later stage of the campaign against Tegüder Aḥmad, however. They had received word that Arghun had been defeated (he had not) and so they returned towards Afghanistan, plundering along the way, undoubtedly as way to recoup their expenses.[95] Although the desertion of these Qara'unas played a role in Tegüder's victory over Arghun, another body of Qara'unas (or Negüderis) that had accompanied Abaqa west also proved the key to Arghun's ultimate victory over Tegüder. They captured Tegüder's camp, which they thoroughly plundered so that "aside from ashes in the fireplaces, not a trace remained."[96]

The fact that these Negüderis/Qara'unas returned to an orderly life after Arghun (r. 1284–1291) assumed power indicates that while they could be

91 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 121.

92 RD/RM, p. 1131; RD/Karīmī, p. 789; RD/Thackston, vol. 3, p. 551; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 391.

93 Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 206.

94 RD/RM, p. 1136; RD/Karīmī, p. 792; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 553; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 392.

95 RD/RM, p. 1137; RD/Karīmī, p. 793; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 554; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 393.

96 RD/RM, pp. 1144–1147; RD/Karīmī, pp. 798–800; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, pp. 558–59; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 395–96.

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undisciplined, these troops were primarily opportunistic and willing to respect Chinggisid prerogatives when a clear line of authority existed. They returned to their pillaging towards the end of Arghun's reign when order began to break down once again.[97] During Ghazan's reign, one group also returned to Afghanistan, ravaging Kirmān along the way.[98]

After Abaqa's death, however, Ilkhanid control over Afghanistan loosened once again. Indeed, during the reign of Aḥmad Tegüder, Sīstān appears to have become autonomous and perhaps independent by the time of Ghazan Khan.[99] A key reason was the series of civil wars between the heirs of Hülegü that distracted them from governing and increasingly allowed local dynasts, as well as their own commanders, to assert their own agendas. The Kartids in Harāt are an excellent example of a local dynasty that progressively acted on its own, at least when the Ilkhan was not near. The key figure, however, was Nawrūz.

As indicated before, Nawrūz was the noyan who commanded the frontier in the east and had some influence over the Qara'unas/Negüderis as he commanded a *tümen* of them during the civil war between Tegüder and Arghun. He continued in this capacity after Arghun took ascended the throne. As Khurāsān had been Arghun's appanage, Arghun assigned it to his son, Ghazan.[100] Although, Ghazan had been raised in the *ordo* of Abaqa's wife, Bulughan Khatun, Khurāsān was not unfamiliar to the adult Ghazan, as he had accompanied Abaqa on the 1279–1280 campaign against the Qara'unas/Negüderis.[101] Unfortunately, Khurāsān is often used as a blanket term in the sources and could be extend from Māzandarān to Harāt or even to Badakhshān, thus including Ghūr and Gharjistān.[102] As a result, Ghazan's appanage remained ill-defined, although it would make sense for him to spend time in Gharjistān and perhaps Bādghīs due to the pastures there.

In 1289, however, Nawrūz rebelled and threatened to expel Ghazan (then age 18) from Khurāsān, forcing Arghun to send Taghachar Noyan in May 1290 to reinforce the region. Arghun died, however, before the rebellion ended.[103] Nawrūz's rebellion surely played a part in Ghazan being unable to claim the

97 Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 206.

98 Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 206.

99 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 121.

100 RD/RM, p. 1216; RD/Karīmī, p. 850; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 594; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 419.

101 RD/RM, pp. 120–1211; RD/Karīmī, pp. 845–846; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 591; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 417.

102 Bosworth, "Khurāsān," *EI2*.

103 RD/RM, pp. 1173, 1177; RD/Karīmī, pp. 819, 822; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, pp. 571, 573; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 405–406. Nawrūz became apprehensive after Arghun executed Buqa, who had conspired to overthrow Arghun. It is not clear with Nawrūz was one of the conspirators or just worried about being judged guilty through association with Buqa. See

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throne after his father's death. The conflict went back and force, but evidence suggests that at this time Nawrūz did not have perfect command over the Qara'unas/Negüderis as a group commanded by Aladu (Sali's son) attacked his camp. The Qara'unas/Negüderis' however could not avoid the war and some (such as Aladu) joined Ghazan while those in the pastures of Bādghīs, including some who had plundered his camp, aligned with Nawrūz.[104] With the aid of reinforcements brought by Prince Baidu, Arghun's first cousin and future Ilkhan (r. 1295), Ghazan secured Khurāsān and deep into Afghanistan. Prince Baidu even commanded some of the Qara'una while moving east.[105] As a result of their campaign, Nawrūz was forced to abandon Khurāsān.

While Rashīd al-Dīn often used Negüderi, the geographical locations such as Bādghīs suggests that these troops were not Negüderis, but rather Qara'unas. While the Negüderis certainly could raid into Khurāsān and Kirmān, there is no indication that they actually were active in Bādghīs, which had been part of the traditional pastures of the original *tamma.*

During Nawrūz's rebellion, the Qara'unas continued to show a knack for finding opportunity. Shortly after Arghun recalled Prince Baidu's army to Azerbaijan, one group of Qara'unas rebelled in Juwayn. Another Qara'una band revolted in Sarakhs in northern Khurāsān. While Ghazan contained both, including using the Qara'una noyan Aladu as the commander against the Sarakhs' Qara'unas, it is curious the Qara'unas continued to be so mercurial.[106]

6 Chaghatayid Encroachment

Before Tarmashirin (r. 1331–34) began his rule of the Chaghatayid Ulus, he served as the Chaghatayid commander in the west, stationed at Ghazna from 1326 to 1331. During his time there and as Khan, Chaghatayid armies invaded India and raided the Sultanate of Delhi as well as Gujārāt, returning to Turkistan with the booty.[107] But how did they reach Ghazna and the Sultanate? What route did they use? Tirmidh was the most likely route as points farther west remained in the hands of the Ilkhanate. They then likely passed through the Khyber Pass, although other routes existed. The Bolan Pass near Qandahār seems unlikely,

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RD/RM, pp. 1217–1218, 1226; RD/Karīmī, pp. 851, 857; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, pp. 594, 599; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 420, 423.

104 RD/RM, p. 1222; RD/Karīmī, p. 854; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 597; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 422.

105 RD/RM, p. 1224; RD/Karīmī, p. 855; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 598; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 422.

106 RD/RM, p. 1225; RD/Karīmī, p. 856; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 599; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 423.

107 Khwandamir, p. 51; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 90.

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as it was a more difficult route to major cities such as Multān and Lahore that were the normal targets of Mongol attacks and the Chaghatayids would have crossed Ilkhanid territory. Furthermore, as the passage through from Tirmidh to Kābul and then Ghazna meant that the Chaghatayids passed through Qara'una territory and then Negüderi territory, indicates that suggesting that both Qara'una and Negüderi territory, and thus much of what is now modern Afghanistan, passed firmly into Chaghatayid hands

The transition of portions of Afghanistan to Chaghatayid control began in 1291 after the renegade Ilkhanid noyan Nawrūz courted the favor and support of Qaidu.[108] As a result, Qaidu and the Chaghatayid Khan, Du'a sent Qaidu's son Sarban and the noyan Yasa'ur with a body of troops south of the Amū Daryā to support Nawrūz's rebellion as the latter. This mission also sought to assert some influence over the Qara'unas and the Negüderis. Yasa'ur pastured in the region of Balkh and Bādghīs, the latter being a favorite pasture for the Mongols in Gharjistān. Meanwhile Sarban entered Shabūrghān.[109] Meanwhile, Nawrūz brought Ghūr and Gharjistān under his authority. As Nawrūz and the Ögödeyid and Chaghatayid forces now controlled the former *tamma* territory, at the very least, a sizeable portion of the Qara'unas joined the alliance. This included Qara'unas who deserted Ghazan's army.[110] Nawrūz's forces soon invaded western Khurāsān. Although the war went back and forth, the death of Arghun in 1291 allowed Nawrūz to establish himself in the province, by no means did he achieve complete control.

The new Ilkhan, Gaikhatu (1291–1295) sent new armies to reinforce Prince Ghazan in Khurāsān, which the Chaghatayids also risked losing due to uprisings caused by their rapacious behavior.[111] The Ilkhanid armies not only had to contend with the Nawrūz's rebellion and the Chaghatayids, but a famine caused by the war. The famine eventually forced Ghazan to dismiss the reinforcements due to insufficient provisions.[112] Despite this setback, the Ilkhanid forces triumphed over Nawrūz as the Ilkhanid *noyan* Qutlughshāh defeated him in late 1292 or early 1293 near Nīshāpūr.[113] Although Nawrūz's defeat led

108 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 217.

109 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 509; RD/RM, p. 1226; RD/Karīmī, p. 858; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 600; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 423–24.

110 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 253, 314; RD/RM, p. 1228; RD/Karīmī, p. 860; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 601; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 424–25.

111 RD/RM, p. 1232; RD/Karīmī, p. 862; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 603; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 426.

112 RD/RM, pp. 1233–34; RD/Karīmī, pp. 864–65; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 604; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 426–27.

113 RD/RM, p. 1238; RD/Karīmī, p. 869; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 606; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 428.

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to reconciliation between Ghazan and Nawrūz in 1294 and the restoration of Khurāsān, it did not mean a withdrawal of Ögödeyid and Chaghatayid armies from Afghanistan beyond Khurāsān.

Ögödeyid-Chaghatayid influence increased from their initial foothold, and they or the Qara'unas continued to launch raids into India.[114] According to Waṣṣāf, the Ögödeyid-Chaghatayids stationed five *tümens* in the region, three from Qaidu and two Chaghatayid *tümen*. Sarban b. Qaidu served as the overall commander of this force, assisted by the Ögödeyid prince Kürsebe.[115] The Chaghatayid prince, Qutlugh Qocha b. Du'a commanded the Chaghatayid contingent.[116] Jackson suggests that the composition of the army may have been in response to Nawrūz's defection from the Chaghatayids.[117] Regardless of Nawrūz's disposition, the Negüderis (Qara'unas?) in Chaghatayid Afghanistan did not remain loyal to him as they remained true to their territory and aligned with the Chaghatayids as we see Negüderi commanders serving with the Chaghatayids.[118] The size of the Ögödeyid-Chaghatayid army demonstrates that the Chaghatayids had no intention of allowing Nawrūz to establish an independent realm and that military force remained necessary to cow the Negüderis into compliance. Despite the inclusion of Qaidu's troops under the Ögödeyid princes Sarban and Kürsebe, the fact that the Negüderis reported to Qutlugh Qocha and the Negüderi *noyan* Abachi served as Qutlugh Qocha's lieutenant, indicates that this was an effort to expand Chaghatayid territory.[119] The large Ögödeyid force appears to have been merely the muscle assisting Chaghatayid expansion. It may be possible that Qaidu now sought to fulfill his agreement with Baraq Khan.[120] If so, his timing was impeccable. The brief civil war between Baidu and Ghazan (r. 1294–1304) with the resulting instability from a change in rulers provided the Chaghatayids time to secure their position in Afghanistan as well as pillage Khurāsān.[121]

Although Ghazan ascended the Ilkhanid throne in 1294, his efforts to repel the Ögödeyid-Chaghatayid interlopers did not take place until the autumn of

114 Barnī, pp. 122, 147.

115 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 509–10.

116 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, 509–10. Also see Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, 218.

117 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 218.

118 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 218. Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 417–18.

119 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 509–10. Also see Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 218.

120 Biran, "The Battle of Herat," pp. 184–85. This agreement was that Baraq would relinquish Mawarannahr and Qaidu would assist in the conquest of Abaqa's territories, probably referring to Khurāsān. This led to Baraq's ill-fated encounter with Abaqa at Herat.

121 RD/RM, pp. 1261–70; RD/Karīmī, pp. 919–924; RD/Thackston, vol. 3, pp. 630–34; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 440–42.

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1296. Disloyalty among his commanders stymied a couple of initial efforts as they plotted to replace Ghazan. In addition, Nawrūz's loyalty once again faltered. Even after Ghazan assigned his brother, Prince Öljeitü as his representative in Khurāsān, the Ilkhanids were unable to make sustained effort to regain their territory.[122] A large factor was due to Nawrūz once again falling out of favor with Ghazan. These events will be discussed later.

Thus, the Chaghatayids had several years to solidify their position in the region. As Professor Jackson notes, Qutlugh Qocha became the most important figure in the Chaghatayid encroachment.[123] One must recall that Abaqa experimented in asserting control over the Qara'unas/Negüderis with Chaghatayid refugees, primarily those who abandoned Baraq after the Battle of Harāt in 1270. Abaqa found some success in controlling parts of the region with Böjei. Böjei's son, ʿAbd-Allāh succeeded his father and served as the Ilkhanid representative in the region. The Chaghatayid encroachment tested the loyalty of the Chaghatayid refugee princes in the Ilkhanate; a test they failed. With the arrival of the Chaghatayid *tümed* in 1298–99, Du'a summoned ʿAbd-Allāh and replaced him with Qutlugh Qocha over the Qara'una/Negüderis.[124] ʿAbd-Allāh does not appear to have resisted Du'a's summons. Thus, Ghūr and Gharjistān became Chaghatayid summer pastures from which they launched attacks on the Sultanate of Delhi.[125] As noted earlier, Hülegü had assigned both Ghūr and Gharjistān to the Kartid Dynasty, and then Abaqa stationed Arghun there, but then Nawrūz occupied Ghūr when he rebelled against Arghun in 1289 and the Chaghatayid prince Yasa'ur occupied Gharjistān in support of Nawrūz. As Qutlugh Qocha continued to nomadize in these areas, it is clear that Ghazan never recovered Ghūr or Gharjistān, thus indicating a sizeable territorial loss for the Ilkhanate. Waṣṣāf even suggests that Qutlugh Qocha's dominion reached Merv.[126] As Qutlugh Qocha's activities are roughly the same time that Marco Polo returned to Persia, I suspect the Venetian conflated the Chaghatayid encroachment into Ghūr with Negüder's period of authority. As Polo returned to the Ilkhanate in 1295 and then Venice in the same year, it is likely his frame of reference in the 1295, period. Thus, when Polo refers to Negüder's connections with the Chaghatayids rather than the Jochids he refers to this period, prior to Qutlugh Qocha, a great-grandson of Chaghadai,

122 RD/RM, p. 1271; RD/Karīmī, p. 926; RD/Thackston, vol. 3, p. 635; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 443.
123 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 218.
124 RD/RM, p. 1109; RD/Karīmī, p. 773; RD/Thackston, vol. 3, p. 540; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 384.
125 Barnī, p. 147.
126 RD/RM, p. 758; RD/Karīmī, pp. 538–539; RD/Thackston, Vol. 2, p. 371; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 262; Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 367–8.

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in command of the Negüderis.[127] It is even while far removed in Venice he learned of Qutlugh Qocha's activities.

Raids from Afghanistan into Sind and Hindūstān increased under Qutlugh Qocha, which also fits with Polo's depiction of his version of Negüder/Chaghatayid prince.[128] The sources are not explicit as to whether the raiders were the occupying *tümed*, Qara'unas who had submitted to the Chaghatayids or Negüderis. Ilkhanid troops, attracted by plunder, may have also partaken in the raids.[129] As the Qara'unas used the pastures of Ghūr and Gharjistān in the summer and they wintered in Ghazna, one must conclude that the Qara'unas were involved. Considering the independent streak of the Qara'unas, one must suspect that Qutlugh Qocha would not abandon Ghūr and Gharjistān to them while he was in India. Qara'una involvement and cooperation was necessary. Furthermore, the distinction between Qara'una and Negüderi remained blurred when viewed in the sources.

These raids also forced the Sultanate of Delhi to increase their defensive measures against the Mongols.[130] Regardless, the Mongol rarely raided without planning. Qutlugh Qocha's major invasion took place in 1299–1300, taking advantage of the Sultanate's own invasion of Gujārāt.[131] Sultan ʿAlā al-Dīn returned in time to engage the Mongols before they sacked Delhi, stopping the Mongols only 15 miles from Delhi. The Mongols withdrew after an indecisive battle, during which Qutlugh Qocha suffered a wound. Qutlugh Qocha died on the return journey.[132]

Qutlugh Qocha's domain roughly corresponded with that of Dayir's tamma, spanning the districts of Badakhshān, Ṭālaqān, Fīrūz Koh, ʿAlīabād, Balkh, Andkhūy, Fāryāb, Ghūr, Gharjistān, and Ghazna. This further demonstrates that the Qara'una aligned themselves with the Chaghatayids. One might wonder if the transfer in loyalty had anything to do with the fact that Dayir was originally a member of Chaghadai's following.[133] This alliance or switch was perhaps years in the making. Möngke assigned Sali Noyan as the commander, which effectively transitioned command of the *tamma* from the Chaghatayids to the Toluids. The position of *tammachi* was not necessarily hereditary, but the

127 MP/Lathem, p. 65; MP/Marsden; p. 39; MP/Yule-Cordier, p. 98; MP/Moule-Pelliot, p. 121; MP/Cliff, p. 36; MP/Kinoshita, p. 29.

128 MP/Lathem, p. 65; MP/Marsden, p. 39; MP/Yule-Cordier, p. 98; MP/Moule-Pelliot, p. 121; MP/Cliff, p. 36; MP/Kinoshita, p. 29; Waṣṣāf/Elliot, p. 42.

129 Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 197; Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 368.

130 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 118.

131 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 220–21; Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 312.

132 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 222; Barnī, pp. 165–167.

133 Aubin, p. 92.

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various *noyans* remained loyal to their Chinggisid patrons. Dayir's son, Huqutu may have naturally favored the Chaghatayid princes. After Harāt had been removed from the *tamma*'s control, when Huqutu had problems with Harāt, he went to the Chaghatayid prince Yesü Möngke (1246–1252) for assistance. Considering the Chaghatayid resistance to Möngke's elevation, it was natural that Möngke would transfer this military unit to Hülegü to reduce Chaghatayid influence.[134] Furthermore, there is little surprise that Negüder accompanied Hülegü westward when one considers that Möngke's ascension came with the support of Jochid arms. It is probable that only the Jochid-Toluid split under Berke caused Negüder to reconsider this arrangement. One must also consider that the *tamma* troops stationed in the region may have harbored a grudge against the heirs of Hülegü as well for the reduction of their territory.

Chaghatayid dominance of the former Ilkhanid territory did not end with Qutlugh Qocha's death, however. Taraghai became the next Mongol commander. He continued to raid Panjāb, suggesting that the Mongols no longer controlled Lahore at this point. In 1303, Taraghai attacked Delhi, again while Sultan ʿAlā al-Dīn's attention focused on Chitōr to the south. Taraghai's approach once again forced Sultan ʿAlā al-Dīn to abandon his campaign. Taraghai's actions also obligated the Sultanate to take a defensive approach, which they eschewed against Qutlugh Qocha. While the suburbs of Delhi suffered greatly from the Mongols, Delhi itself once again escaped the Mongols, although the Sultanate again failed to decisively defeat the Mongols.[135] As Peter Jackson noted, "This stalemate situation lasted for about two months; then Taraghai suddenly withdrew to his own territory."[136] The Mongol withdrawal seemed a miracle.[137]

Other events ensured that the Mongols did not initiate a major invasion of the Sultanate for a number of years. Warfare in the wake of Qaidu's death in 1301 between Chapar b. Qaidu and Du'a, the Chaghatayid Khan, led to a reshuffling of alliances. Although Du'a won the war, it still affected the region of Afghanistan. As several Ögödeyid *tümed* were in Afghanistan, there was no certainty as to whom would control the region, which must have worried the Ilkhans as well. In 1305, Taraghai attacked the Ögödeyids commanded by Sarban b. Qaidu. Despite the apparent surprise, Sarban held firm and Taraghai retreated towards India.[138] Sarban did not enjoy his position long as Du'a sent his son, Esen Buqa to preside over the Chaghatayid territories in Afghanistan.

134 Aubin, p. 79.
135 Barnī, pp. 189–91.
136 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 222.
137 Barnī, pp. 190–91.
138 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 224; Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 510.

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In light of this, Sarban abandoned his position and moved to Khurāsān (meaning towards Harāt) in 1306. There he sought the clemency of the new Ilkhan, Öljeitü.[139] Curiously, Qutlugh Qocha's wives rallied support in favor of Sarban and attempted to block Taraghai's escape. Their actions probably were to protect their own interests rather than the Chaghatayid agenda. Despite this, Taraghai reached the Jhelum River in 1305 before returning to Afghanistan, where he joined the Negüderis.[140] The fact that he could do so again demonstrates the confusion of Mongol authority in Afghanistan. Here the Qara'unas and Negüderis appear somewhat independent, but their position under Chaghatayid controlled Afghanistan remains murky at best. The fact that Taraghai was then killed during an expedition by Esen Buqa to restore order in the region suggests that the Negüderis could be compliant when a Chinggisid with a sizeable military force was present.[141]

Chaghatayid control continued even after Esen Buqa returned to Central Asia in 1309 to become the Chaghatayid Khan. Esen Buqa Khan (1309–1318) also sought to conquer Khurāsān in 1314 in retaliation of Ilkhanid actions in Afghanistan. He assigned his brother Kebek and Prince Yasa'ur to the task. Although they defeated the local armies of the Ilkhanate and pillaged extensively during the reign of Öljeitü, they retreated across the Amū Daryā upon the Ilkhan's advance.[142] In addition to Khurāsān, Esen Buqa remained active with the Negüderis. His younger brother, It Qul came to rule over the Negüderis. The region itself remained largely under the authority of Dā'ūd Qocha, a relative of Qutlugh Qocha.[143] Dā'ūd Qocha was able to reassert Chaghatayid authority not only over the Negüderis, Ghazna and Bust, but also Tigīnābād and into the Indus River valley. For the Negüderis, this assertion of Chaghatayid authority was perhaps greater than in the past as two Negüderi leaders, Temür and Lakchir sought aid from the Ilkhanate. This request was granted by Ilkhan Öljeitü and Ilkhanid forces defeated Dā'ūd Qocha, sacking his base at Tigīnābād in 1312.[144]

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139 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 224; Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 510.

140 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 227.

141 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 224; Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 510–11.

142 Khwandamir, p. 50; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 89.

143 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 225.

144 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 225. The location of Tigīnabād remains uncertain, but it a day's journey from Bust (modern Bost) and in the direction of Kandahar. See C. E. Bosworth, "Ḳandahār", in *EI2,* edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs, (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Consulted online on 23 January 2020 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3857.

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Despite the disruption, Chaghatayid forces still penetrated into Panjāb with ʿAlī Beg and Tartaq leading forces into 1305. These apparently worked in conjunction with Taraghai when he fled to the Jhelum River. Although Taraghai departed from Tartaq and ʿAlī Beg, the Chaghatayid forces, presumably without Negüdari troops, pillaged the Panjāb and as far as Awadh before being defeated by Sultanate forces on 30 December 1305. Sultanate forces captured both commanders, who spent several years in captivity in Delhi, although their fellow Mongol prisoners were trampled by elephants.[145] Undoubtedly, Sultan ʿAlā al-Dīn recognized the value of keeping them as hostages or bargaining chips.

The failed incursion of ʿAlī Beg and Tartaq was not the last Chaghatayid assault on Delhi. Despite this defeat, the Chaghatayids renewed their grip on parts of Afghanistan and Kebek, who had served in Sarban's army, took command of the region. He had been with Sarban's army. This does not appear to be the future Chaghatayid Khan, Kebek as the Kebek in Afghanistan at this time was later captured during a major invasion of the Sultanate of Delhi after crossing the Indus. His subordinates, however, returned to their base. What is notable is that despite the defeat, this Chaghatayid expedition raided as far as the Ganges River.[146] Kebek was trampled by elephants and the skulls of his men were made into towers.[147]

Meanwhile in Afghanistan, Dā'ūd Qocha's defeat initiated a frontier war between the Chaghatayids and the Ilkhanate. Dā'ūd Qocha's defeat also included, at least momentarily, the abandonment of Afghanistan. As most of the references to Chaghatayid Afghanistan refer primarily to its position as a base for invasions of Hindūstān, the region often fades into obscurity during lulls between invasions. One contributing factor was that the Chaghatayid raids once again forced the Sultanate of Delhi to improve its defenses, particularly near Lahore. Additionally, the Sultanate initiated an offensive policy of yearly campaigns into Afghanistan to keep the Mongol threat at bay. By the time that Ghāzī Malik Tughluq, the *iqta'* holder for Lahore, became Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq Shāh in 1320, he had achieved 18 victories over the Mongols. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, however, indicated that Tughluq defeated the Mongols 29 times.[148] There is evidence that the sultan success deterred any further Mongol incursions from Afghanistan.[149] The Sultanate may have briefly occupied Ghazna, although Jackson notes that there is little evidence to corroborate this. Jackson,

145 Barnī, pp. 197–98.
146 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 228–29; Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 526.
147 Barnī, p. 198.
148 Barnī, p. 241; Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 229; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥala Ibn Baṭṭūta* (Beirut: Dār al-Sharq al-ʿArabī, 1995), p. 341; IB/Gibb, pp. 649.
149 Barnī, pp. 199–200.

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however, does suggest that it was possible and a clear sign that Chaghatayid presence and authority had ended by 1308.[150] The Sultanate's victories thus opened the door for an Ilkhanid return to Afghanistan.

7 Ilkhanid Restoration

Chaghatayid threats were not the only regional concern for the Ilkhanate. Afghanistan, including Harāt in Khurāsān, truly remained a liminal region to the rulers in Tabriz. The region only appears in the sources in connection to war, whether invasion or rebellion. During the lifetime of Ghazan, Khurāsān received more attention in the major sources, particularly by Rashīd al-Dīn as Arghun, Ghazan's father assigned the region to him in his youth. The fact that Khurāsān was distant from Tabriz also meant that it was suitable for rebellion, much as it was during the Umayyad period (661–750). Considering Amir Nawrūz's zeal for Islam and spreading the faith, it is not surprising that his rebellion against Ghazan began there.[151] Indeed, the theme did not go unnoticed by contemporary historians.[152] Khurāsān, of course also served as Ghazan's powerbase for his own ascension to the throne.

After Ghazan gained the throne, he kept Nawrūz in Khurāsān to protect it from Chaghatayid attacks. In the first year of his reign, 1295, Nawrūz drove back forces led by Baraq's sons, Ujai and Du'a as well as Qaidu's son, Sarban. They fled on his approach, but he decisively defeated them at Harāt.

While the Chaghatayids used Afghanistan as a base of operations for raids into India, it also served that purpose against the Ilkhans. One raid into Khurāsān devastated Ṭūs and a number of smaller towns. During Qutlugh Qocha's tenure in Afghanistan, his army pillaged Khurāsān and even reached Māzandarān in 1295–96.[153] The timing of the campaign was brilliant as they occurred when Ghazan was not in the region, usually dealing with matters to the west. Another raid on Fārs and Kirmān took place in 1300, when Ghazan was in Syria even as Qutlugh Qocha sent troops against Delhi. While Waṣṣāf indicates that Qutlugh Qocha led the raid, Jackson notes that Qutlugh Qocha was already dead.[154] Rashīd al-Dīn, however, mentions that Qutlugh Qocha

150 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 230.
151 Khwandamir, p. 78; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 141.
152 J. A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns", in *CHI*, vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 384.
153 RD/RM, 1261; RD/Karīmī, 919; RD/Thackston, vol. 3, 630; RD/Thackston 2012, 440.
154 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, pp. 368–71; Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 197.

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merely sent "his soldiers to plunder Fars in 700 H/1300–1. The reason he was so audacious is that the Padishah of Islam's imperial banners were headed for Syria and that front had been left empty."[155]

The likely scenario is that Qutlugh Qocha led the main Chaghatayid and Qara'una/Negüderi army against Delhi, but left sufficient troops to invade Fārs. What is remarkable is the timing of the invasions. Both incursions took place while the Sultan of Delhi invaded Gujārāt and Ghazan invaded Syria. Although the India campaign ended with Qutlugh Qocha's death, the timing and his intelligence regarding his opponents' activities clearly demonstrates that Qutlugh Qocha was not just opportunistic, but a strategic planner. These raids on the Ilkhanate also maintained the notorious reputation of the Negüderis. Much like the early Mongol conquests, fear remained a valuable tool.

Despite his success, or in spite of it, Nawrūz eventually fell out of favor with Ghazan as there were rumors that he conspired with the Mamluks to overthrow Ghazan.[156] Khwāndamīr found the rumor spurious and I must agree. Considering that Nawrūz was stationed in Khurāsān, it seems unlikely that such a plot was realistic, unlike previous Mamluk plots in Anatolia. Connections between Nawrūz and the Chaghatayid Khanate might be more realistic, particularly as that had occurred in the past. In any case, Ghazan became convinced.

Ghazan sent Amir Su'untai and Horqudaq Noyan with two *tümed*. Amir Qutlughshāh reinforced them. Upon hearing of the deaths of his relatives in the Ilkhanid court and also of the approach of the army of retribution, Nawrūz fled to Harāt, where his in-law Malik Fakhr al-Dīn Kart governed.[157] Not all of his men supported this move and deserted him. Furthermore, Malik Fakhr al-Dīn Kart also had doubts of housing a fugitive, indicating that Harāt was firmly in the hands of the Ilkhanids and his concern of what might happen to Harāt should Nawrūz resist. Nonetheless, he allowed Nawrūz to occupy the Ikhtiyār al-Dīn fortress. After Qutlughshāh arrived, Fakhr al-Dīn, along with Ghūrid troops, seized Nawrūz and massacred his loyal troops, of which there were only four hundred. Qutlughshāh then executed Nawrūz on

155 RD/RM, p. 1109; RD/Karīmī, p. 773; RD/Thackston, Vol. 3, p. 540; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 384.

156 Khwandamir, p. 82; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 149. Rashīd al-Dīn, however, reported a scenario where Nawrūz contacted the Mamluk Sultanate in order to secure their assistance against Baidu as the Ilkhan was an infidel. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Nawrūz continued to have sporadic contact with the Mamluks. See RD/RM, pp. 1273–1276; RD/Karīmī, pp. 926–928; RD/Thackston, vol. 3, pp. 636–37; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 444–45.

157 Khwandamir, p. 82; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 149; RD/RM, p. 1278; RD/Karīmī, p. 930; RD/Thackston, vol. 3, p. 638; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 445.

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August 13, 1297. With the matter settled, Qutlughshāh returned to Tabriz with Nawrūz's head.[158]

This incident sheds light on the state of Ilkhanid affairs in the region. Fakhr al-Dīn Kart's actions demonstrate that Harāt remained loyal to the Ilkhanids. Ghūrid troops were present, but it is clear that they were not the only soldiers in Harāt. Their presence suggests that Ghūr may have returned to Ilkhanid authority, although how or when this occurred remains unclear. Considering that no actions had been taken against the Chaghatayids in Afghanistan, however, it is more likely that these Ghūrid troops in Harāt either were mercenaries or simply displaced by the Chaghatayid occupation. Furthermore, after Qutlughshāh arrived in Khurāsān, Su'untai and Horqudaq are no longer mentioned. Although the sources mention that they were sent to Harāt, what became of them is not stated. It is likely that their troops stayed with in the region to ensure that Nawrūz's imagined rebellion had not spread. As indicated, Qutlughshāh did not remain in Khurāsān, but returned to Tabriz before marching to quell a rebellion in Georgia.[159]

In addition to the rebellion, the Qara'unas/Negüderis also posed problems. They appear to have been a constant problem for the Ilkhanids well prior to their association with the Chaghatayids. In 678/1279–1280, Abaqa marched to Khurāsān to deal with them.[160] As noted earlier, Abaqa had moved some contingents of Qara'unas westward. Some still remained in the west during Ghazan's reign. One such group, led by the *minqan-u noyan*, Buqa Noyan, abandoned his post in Azerbaijan in spring 1299 (Sha'bān 698 H) and returned to the Negüderis in Sīstān, traveling via Yazd and Kirmān.[161]

The reasons for their desertion remain unclear, but their actions seem to fit the "personality" of the Negüderis, and indeed, I think it is proper to categorize these as Negüderis considering their destination, although that route may have been seen as the one of least resistance from other Mongol forces. While useful in war, their highly independent nature made the Qara'unas and Negüderis a problem during peace. These Qara'unas had become such a problem that the regional *daruqachin* blamed them for most incidents, forcing Ghazan to deal with them. Eventually, Buqa led them to Harāt, where Malik Fakhr al-Dīn of Harāt gave them refuge. He also allegedly equipped them and

158 RD/RM, pp. 1278–81; RD/Karīmī, pp. 930–33; RD/Thackston, vol. 3, pp. 639–40; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 446–47; Khwandamir, p. 83; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 150. Khwāndamīr indicates he was beheaded while Rashīd al-Dīn recorded that he was cut in half, but his head was sent to court.

159 RD/RM, p. 1282; RD/Karīmī, p. 933; RD/Thackston, vol. 3, p. 641; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 447.

160 Khwandamir, p. 78; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 141.

161 RD/RM, p. 1288; RD/Karīmī, p. 936; RD/Thackston, vol. 3, p. 643; RD/Thackston 2012, p. 449.

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allowed them to plunder much of Khurāsān, presumably with him receiving a share of the booty.[162] Upon learning of this, Ghazan dispatched his brother Öljeitü to deal with the situation in 1299–1300. Ghazan instructed his brother to order Fakhr al-Dīn to hand over the Negüderis, and if not, then lay siege to Harāt and destroy the Negüderis (as called by Khwāndamīr), but only them.[163] Although skirmishing and a few battles occurred, it does not appear that a siege took place. Through the intervention of the *Shaykh al-Islām*, Shihāb al-Dīn Jami, Harāt was able to negotiate a settlement of 100,000 Kepeki dinars.[164] Why Fakhr al-Dīn permitted the pillaging is curious, as it seems that his association with the rebellious Qara'una could have jeopardized his position. Yet, Ghazan's orders suggest that perhaps Fakhr al-Dīn had been coerced into the relationship as Ghazan only sought to punish the Negüderis and not Fakhr al-Din per se.

During the reign of Öljeitü, rebellion once again occurred in Harāt in 1306. When Öljeitü came to the throne, Malik Fakhr al-Dīn Kart refused to come to the imperial *ordo* to show obeisance, probably due to a shared animosity dating to Öljeitü's tenure in Khurāsān.[165] Öljeitü dispatched Dānishmand Bahādur to bring the recalcitrant Kartid and the Negüderis (obviously indicating the Negüderis were never destroyed in Harāt) to court. Although Dānishmand failed to capture Harāt, other cities, including Farāh, submitted. A blockade of Harāt began with skirmishing. Fakhr al-Dīn eventually secured a truce in which he handed Harāt over to the Ilkhanid forces while Dānishmand granted him safe passage to the fortress of Amān Kūh.[166]

One of Fakhr al-Dīn's servitors, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Sām remained in command of the citadel. Harāt surrendered and opened to Dānishmand, but the citadel refused to submit. Tentative negotiations began and eventually Muḥammad Sām permitted Dānishmand to enter the citadel. His diplomacy proved to be a trap as Muḥammad Sām massacred Dānishmand and his guards. Muḥammad Sām then drove the Mongols from Harāt. In retaliation, Öljeitü sent an army commanded by Dānishmand's son, Böjei with an

162 Khwandamir, p. 83; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, pp. 150–51.

163 Khwandamir, p. 83; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 151.

164 This settlement is clearly anachronistic as Kepeki dinars did not exist until the reign of the Chaghatayid Khan Kebek (1318–1327).

165 Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History", p. 401.

166 Khwandamir, p. 210; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 372. It is not clear if this Dānishmand Bahādur is the Qara'una by the same name, who devastated the region of Juwayn in 1290. If so, demonstrates the very fluid nature of relations between the Qara'una and the Ilkhanids. See Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World,* p. 206.

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army of retribution.[167] Additionally, Öljeitü assigned the rule of Khurāsān to Yasa'ul Noyan.[168]

Fakhr al-Dīn publicly denounced Muḥammad Sām, but privately supported him by sending reinforcements.[169] Thus, when Böjei attempted to have Fakhr al-Dīn order Muḥammad Sām's surrender, Fakhr al-Dīn claimed he could not control him and that the officers in Harāt supported him. Thus, a siege began on 5 February 1307 and continued until 24 June 1307 when Böjei learned of Yasa'ul's approach. Learning of this, Böjei resumed negotiations. Muḥammad Sām and Böjei came to an agreement where the city would be Böjei's but Muḥammad Sām kept the citadel. Böjei wanted to claim victory before Yasa'ul arrived to take credit for suppressing the revolt.[170] In return, he gave Muḥammad Sām a robe of honor. When Yasa'ul arrived, he accepted the conditions of the surrender and ordered Muḥammad Sām to come before him under the guarantee of safety from Böjei. Fittingly, Yasa'ul then arrested Muḥammad Sam for the murder of Dānishmand and turned him over to Böjei for execution telling him "It is Oljaitu [sic] Sultan's order that when you have killed your father's murderers, you are to leave the Herat plain."[171]

Böjei vacillated. Although he executed many of the Ghūrid troops, he curiously did not kill Muḥammad Sām. Instead, he moved to the Murghāb River, taking Muḥammad Sām with him. Yasa'ul then sent men to retrieve Böjei and Muḥammad Sām. Yasa'ul supervised the execution by Böjei and then occupied Harāt. Whereas Böjei had dismantled many fortifications during the siege and ejected much of the population, Yasa'ul permitted them to return and rebuild. As Fakhr al-Dīn died at some point during Böjei's siege of Harāt, Öljeitu assigned a new Kartid governor, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad. Öljeitü eventually expanded Ghiyāth al-Dīn's territory beyond Harāt to include parts of eastern Iran as well as other areas of present-day Afghanistan including Farāh, Ghūr, and Gharjistān – essentially the western part of Afghanistan. Much of the territory in Afghanistan, however, remained in the hands of the Qara'unas and consequently under the Chaghatayid dominion. One might read this "reward" as a subtle command to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad to bring the region back under Ilkhanid control.

The eastern frontier continued to garner Öljeitü's attention. While the Mamluk front continued to be desultory, India may have attracted his gaze as

167 Khwandamir, 211–212; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, pp. 374–75.
168 Khwandamir, 212; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 375.
169 Khwandamir, 212; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 374.
170 Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History", p. 401.
171 Khwandamir, p. 213; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 376.

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well. Indeed, in 1310–11, an Ilkhanid embassy reached the court of Sultan ʿAlā al-Dīn (r. 1296–1316) and demanded not only the Sultan's submission but also his daughter in marriage.[172] The Sultan had no desire to submit to the Ilkhanate (or the Chaghatayids), and according to Waṣṣāf, the envoys were then trampled by elephants.[173] Still, the fact that Öljeitü authorized this, as well as assisting the Negüderi commanders Temür and Lakchir against Esen Buqa in 1312, demonstrates a renewed interest in asserting Ilkhanid authority over Afghanistan.

Eastern Khurāsān remained a hotbed of rebellion, again testifying to it being a frontier and peripheral to the control of the center, despite it being the traditional domain of the heir-apparent throughout much of Ilkhanid history. As indicated earlier, Öljeitü's actions concerning the Negüderi's did not go unnoticed by the Chaghatayids. In January 1314, Esen Buqa Khan sent an army in to Khurāsān. Although the Kebek, Yasaʾur, and Dāʾud Qocha pillaged Khurāsān and possibly defeated Yasaʾul Noyan's forces, they retreated before Öljeitü's advance.[174] Afterwards, Öljeitü appointed his eight year old son, Abū Saʿīd as his viceroy for Khurāsān, under the guardianship of Sevinj, his atabeg.[175] While this process may have been protocol and timed not only with Öljeitü's own presence in the region, the appointment of a Chinggisid prince to the region may have also been commentary on the state of affairs of the region as well.

With the invasion ending in failure, Kebek accused Yasaʾur of colluding with the Ilkhanids. Whether Yasa'ur had indeed colluded with the Ilkhanids or whether he simply sought their aid after Kebek's accusations, Öljeitü's forces crossed the Amu Darya and provided support. With the Chaghatayid prince in his company, Öljeitü withdrew back into Khurāsān. Öljeitü granted Prince Yasaʾur permission to settle near Bādghīs.[176] This also indicates that while Ghūr remained outside of Ilkhanid authority, the Ilkhans regained the pastures of Bādghīs and thus at least a portion of Gharjistān. Furthermore, we should also view this as a liminal region, not only with the Chaghatayids in Māwarānnahr, but also within the Qara'una territory.

Yasa'ur appreciation of Öljeitü's hospitality did not extend to beyond Öljeitü's lifetime. After Öljeitü's death in 1316, he took advantage of the instability and rebelled, seeking to carve a kingdom out Khurāsān. Yasa'ur plotted to remove Amir Yasa'ul, the Ilkhanid military governor, in spring 1317.[177] Amir Yasa'ul's rapacious nature did not endear the population to him and so Yasa'ur

172 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 225; Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 528; Wassaf/Elliot, pp. 51–52.
173 Waṣṣāf/Bombay, p. 528; Wassaf/Elliot, p. 54; Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 225.
174 Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History", 405.
175 Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History", 405.
176 Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History", 405.
177 Khwandamir, p. 112; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 201.

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found a few collaborators. When the coup occurred, Yasaʾul escaped but unfortunately encountered Mubārakhshāh, Böjei's son who harbored no love for Yasaʾul. In a brief battle with Mubārakhshāh's men, Yasaʾul died. Abū Saʿīd ordered an investigated of Yasaʾul's death. In the end, the investigators determined Yasaʾur acted in in self-defense.[178] Although he successfully tricked the minions of the Ilkhan, Yasaʾur found that the local notables were not as easily fooled and, more importantly, still loyal to the Ilkhan. Attempts to sway Harāt and the region of Sīstān into rebellion failed, the Negüderis and presumably, the Qaraʾunas failed to join him, forcing Yasaʾur to resort to pillaging. Not only did the local armies rally against him, but an Ilkhanid army also approached. The final blow came from Kebek Khan (r. 1318–1327), the new Chaghatayid Khan and Yasaʾur's rival. Seeing an opportunity to eliminate his rival, Kebek led an army across the Āmū Daryā. The Chaghatayids destroyed Yasaʾur's army and then withdrew, without risking war with the Ilkhanids.[179]

Khurāsān again became associated with rebellion when a rift grew between Abū Saʿīd and Amir Chūbān. The rebellion did not manifest immediately, but simmered before coming to roiling boil.[180] Sensing that it might be advantageous to be away from Tabrīz and Sulṭāniyya for a bit, in 1326 Chūbān went to Khurāsān ostensibly to collect tribute for Abū Saʿīd, although concerns regarding a Chaghatayid invasion existed as well.[181] Chūbān's camp was at Bādghīs. As demonstrated, Bādghīs had become the primary region to establish a headquarters for any commander due to the fine pastures and proximity to Harāt while also still having access to northern Khurāsān, the Chaghatayid border, and the *Sarḥadd-i Hindūstān* as well as the parts of Afghanistan under Chaghatayid authority such as Ghūr and Ghazna. Furthermore, after Yasaʾur's revolt, an Ilkhanid commander in the region was necessary.

The Chaghatayid threat proved real as Tarmashirin, Kebek Khan's younger brother, had arrived in Afghanistan, assuming command of the Chaghatayid forces there. Rumors indicated that Tarmashirin began to amass an army at Ghazna, undoubtedly with Negüderi support, with the intention of conquering

178 Khwandamir, pp. 112–113; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, pp. 201–2.

179 Khwandamir, pp. 113–114; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 204.

180 For a summary see Michael Hope, *Power, Politics, and Tradition in the Mongol Empire and the Īlkhānate of Iran* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 190–93; Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History", pp. 409–411; also see Charles Melville, "Abū Saʿīd and the Revolt of the Amirs in 1319", in *L'Iran Face À La domination Mongole*, ed. Denise Aigle (Tehran: Institut Française de recherce en Iran, 1997): pp. 89–120.

181 Khwandamir, p. 117; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 210; Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History", p. 410.

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Khurāsān.[182] Chūbān dispatched his son Ḥasan to counter Tarmashirin's forces. While his army was still assembling, Tarmashirin learned of Ḥasan's approach and led some forces to engage him near Ghazna in November 1326. Ḥasan defeated Tarmashirin and continued on to Ghazna, sacking the city and disrupting the Chaghatayid plan.[183] Tarmashirin, however, escaped. Curiously, Chūbān did not move troops to occupy Ghazna nor Ghūr, despite the decisive defeat of the Chaghatayids. Indeed, Ḥasan evacuated the city by the end of 1326.[184]

The reason for this missed opportunity is most likely tied to the events leading to Chūbān's rebellion in 1327. In his absence from the court, Chūbān's rivals undermined him, although Chūbān's son Dimashq needed no assistance in turning Abū Saʿīd against the Chūbānid family.[185] Abū Saʿīd took advantage of Chūbān's absence to reassert his authority. Dimashq died while trying to escape Abū Saʿīd's wrath on 25 August 1327. He then also planned to eliminate Chūbān and other family members as well. A messenger even reached Chūbān's camp in Bādghīs and informed the *noyad* there. They allegedly did not feel capable of seizing Chūbān at the time, however.[186] Instead, these commanders informed Chūbān of Dimashq's death.

Upon hearing the news, the grief stricken Chūbān considered his options. His commanders exhorted him to purge any supporters of the Ilkhan, takeover Khurāsān, and form an alliance with the Chaghatayids.[187] Ḥasan attempted to persuade his father to remain in Khurāsān, but seek aid from the Chaghatayids should the Ilkhan attack.[188] Considering the recent defeat that Ḥasan inflicted upon Tarmashirin, one might wonder just how forthcoming Chaghatayid support might have been. According to Khwāndamīr, Chūbān disagreed with this, thinking that no one in Īrān could oppose his might. He thought he would be able to come to terms with the Abū Saʿīd and avenge his son by executing those who accused Dimashq of improprieties.[189] To this end, Chūbān marched west even as Abū Saʿīd led an army east. Despite the efforts of intermediaries led

182 Khwandamir, p. 117; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 210.
183 Khwandamir, p. 117; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 210.
184 Michal Biran, "The Chaghadaids and Islam: The Conversion of Tarmashirin Khan (1331–34)", *JAOS* 122, no. 4 (2002): p. 743.
185 Khwandamir, pp. 117–18; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 211; Hope, *Power, Politics, and Tradition*, p. 193; Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History", p. 410.
186 Khwandamir, pp. 117–18; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 211; Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History", p. 410.
187 Khwandamir, p. 118; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, pp. 211–12.
188 Hope, *Power, Politics, and Tradition*, p. 193.
189 Khwandamir, p. 118; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, p. 212.

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by Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Daula Simnāni, Abū Saʿīd had other plans. He continued his purge. After learning of this, a number of Chūbān's supporters abandoned him and slipped away to show obeisance to the khan. It was one thing to scheme in distant Bādghīs, but quite another when they were on the verge of battle and camped a day's ride from the Pādishāh. Seeing his army evaporate, Chūbān fled to the banks of the Murghāb River before heading to Harāt, where he found refuge with the Kart ruler, Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn, despite being reminded of Kartid betrayals of Nāwrūz and others. Indeed, Ghiyāth al-Dīn soon forgot his obligations as host after receiving a letter from Abū Saʿīd promising him the wealth of Fārs.[190] Ghiyāth al-Dīn executed Chūbān in November 1327/728 H. Narin Toghay assumed the position of the Mongol military authority in Khurāsān.

After Chūbān's death, others took advantage of the power vacuum and seized the property of his heirs. Violence in Khurāsān became endemic. Although rebellion did not occur after Chūbān's death, tensions between the Mongol *noyad* and local notables such as the Karts increased. Authority and property depended as much on one's connections in the Ilkhanid court as one's military might. Initially, Harāt was able to remain independent of Narin Toghay, the Mongol commander in Khurāsān, but only because the imperial *wazīr*, Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Rashīd al-Dīn, intervened.[191] Nonetheless, even the favor of the wazīr could not protect him as Narin Toghay plundered Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn's camp as he returned to Harāt from the imperial *ordo*.[192] Narin Toghay then attempted to force his authority across much of Khurāsān, particularly Harāt. The news of the violence in Khurāsān soon reached Abū Saʿīd, who dispatched Tash Temür Noyan to deal with Narin Toghay.

Narin Toghay intercepted him and engaged in diplomatic efforts, finding that Tash Temür shared his disdain of Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Din. The two then found other conspirators and attempted to assassinate the *wazīr* in Sulṭāniyya; the *wazīr* narrowly escaped the plot. Narin Toghay and Tash Temür attempted to flee back to Khurāsān, but were captured and executed by order of the Pādishāh in August 1227. In 1329–1330 (730 H), Abū Saʿīd restored order in Khurāsān with the appointment of the military leader Shaykh ʿAlīʾ and the *wazīr* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad. After that, the region remained relatively peaceful and free from invasion and intrigue until the death of Abū Saʿīd in 1335 and the resultant demise of the Ilkhanate.

190 Khwandamir, 118–119; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, 213.
191 Khwandamir, 120; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, 216.
192 Khwandamir, 120–21; Khwāndamīr, vol. 3, 216.

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8 Chaghatayid Permanence

Although the end of the Ilkhanid Empire occurred, it did not mean the Jochids and Chaghatayids swallowed up the former Ilkhanid territories. Nonetheless, just as Azerbaijan remained a lure for the Jochids whose final conquest of Tabrīz proved ephemeral, the territories south of the Amū Daryā remained important to the Chaghatayids. Even before the end of the Ilkhanate, the Chaghatayids showed a resurgence in the region which threatened Ilkhanid authority in Khurāsān and continued to interfere with direct relations (hostile or peaceful) with the Delhi Sultanate. While a detailed analysis of Chaghatayid activities in post-Ilkhanid Afghanistan is outside the purview of this volume, it merits a brief discussion. The focus, however, will be on the Chaghatayid activities between 1320 and 1335 as they shed some light on the previous section.

After 1320, it is clear that Mongol control (whether Chaghatayid, Ilkhanid, Qara'una, or Negüderi) control did not extend beyond the Hindu Kush mountains. Sultan Muḥammad ibn Tughluq (1325–1351) of Delhi placed Lahore and Peshāwar under his authority.[193] Nonetheless, Mongol incursions continued, although the size of the raids diminished. The future Chaghatayid khan, Tarmashirin led the last major invasion in 1328–1329, reaching as far as Lahore. Although Tarmashirin did not occupy the region, he did considerable damage and withdrew, closely pursued by the Sultan's army. Although minor raids continued, Delhi had little worry until Tamerlane's conquest of Delhi in 1398.[194]

The lack of major invasions did not mean that the Chaghatayids abandoned Afghanistan. Indeed, Tarmashirin remained in the region until he ascended the Chaghatayid throne. Indeed, as Chūbān's rebellion prevented the Ilkhans from taking advantage of Ḥasan's victory at Ghazna, Tarmashirin was able to regroup. Additionally, Ḥasan's victory did not entice the Negüderis or the Qara'unas to shift their loyalties, again allowing the Chaghatayids to maintain their presence. Furthermore, the Chaghatayid presence gave Sultan Muḥammad ibn Tughluq sufficient concern that he sought an alliance with the Ilkhan Abū Saʿīd against the Chaghatayids.[195] Although nothing came from the diplomacy, it demonstrates that the Chaghatayid presence continued and that the Sultanate recognized that the Ilkhans also had interests in the region. Perhaps in connection with this, Tarmashirin mended fences with the Sultanate after becoming the Chaghatayid khan as noted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.[196]

193 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 231–32; Ibn Baṭṭūṭā, pp. 309–314; IB/Gibb, pp. 593–602.
194 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 232.
195 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 233.
196 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 291; IB/Gibb, p. 564.

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One may also connect this change of heart by Tarmashirin to internal matters, which required his attention. The fact that he sought to secure his Afghanistan border also indicates that the region remained of value. After Tarmashirin's overthrow in 1334, however, Afghanistan again disappears from the main stage in Chaghatayid history. Nonetheless, we know events in the region were tumultuous; although the Sultanate of Delhi received a respite from Mongol attacks, it received an influx of refugees fleeing the violence in the Chaghatayid Khanate.[197]

9 Conclusion

So what can be learned from Mongol involvement in the region now known as Afghanistan? The laundry list of battles and sieges demonstrate that the Mongols did not sweep through it unopposed in their initial encounters. Much of the resistance was organized and buttressed by the presence of Jalāl al-Dīn as the region was his appanage. The resistance shown here is more remarkable as prior to 1206, much of the region comprised the Ghūrid Empire, which Muhammad Khwārazmshāh conquered in 1215–1216. Considering its recent acquisition by the Khwārazmshāh, it would not have been surprising if it had simply submitted to the Mongols rather than resist. Indeed, many of the commanders participating were locals so it was not as if the main resistance came from an occupying army from Khwārazm or of Qangli Turks, demonstrating that perhaps the Khwārazmian Empire may have been a bit more organized and united than most scholars (including myself) have considered, which also makes the Mongol conquest that much more impressive.

The second invasion during the reign of Ögödei also reveals much. Dayir and other Mongol commanders reacquired the region for the Mongol Empire relatively quickly and without significant resistance except from the Khwārazmians who had returned from India. The decline in conflict is significant. For the most part, the devastation wrought by the Mongols seven years earlier was still very much in the minds of the inhabitants who apparently decided that resistance was futile. Secondly, part of the region quickly transitioned from military commanders to civilian governors such as Chin-Temür. This idea buttresses the

197 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, pp. 290–91, 375; IB/Gibb, pp. 562–64, 712. Also see Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 233–34. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa at times mention Turks (Mongols and Turks), Afghans (Pashtun) and Khurāsānis. The latter term was often used to describe Māwarānnahr by Indian sources. Still, one may wonder if the instability in the post Ilkhanid Khurāsān may have also created refugees.

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concept that only the Khwārazmian commanders resisted the Mongol return. After this transition, we still see military units (*tamma*), but these troops were placed on border areas such as Kunduz, Badakhshān, and Baghlān in the north, which bordered the mountain kingdoms that were not under Mongol control, as well as Ghūr in central Afghanistan thus providing additional troops to control the region should the civilian governor need it. Bādghīs and Ghūr also provided sufficient pasture for the Mongol horses. Thus, the majority of the region that transitioned to the civilian governors operating from Māwarānnahr appears to have been Khurāsān, from Harāt westward.

This situation changed. Although the regions of Kunduz, Ghūr, Ghazna, and Kābul were truly a frontier of the Mongol Empire and governed by *tammachin*, Khurāsān transitioned to a civil government and integrated into the larger imperial scheme. During the Ilkhanid period, Khurāsān, however, became a liminal region, indirectly connected to the Ilkhanid court in Tabrīz. Several princes ruled it as a patrimony, but it was sufficiently removed from Tabriz and wealthy enough to permit autonomy and thus even become a springboard for rebellion.[198] Yet at the same time, after a rebellion failed, Khurāsān and the regions of Afghanistan once again receded in importance until the next time. Certainly, rebellions by Chinggisids and by *noyans* were frequent enough that imperial armies visited frequently – enough so that the Kartids sat on the fence during most occasions.

In short, Afghanistan was certainly not a "graveyard" for the Mongols. It remained a frontier region of some significance that gradually stabilized but never fully transitioned to civilian control. Unlike most of the cities in Khurāsān, the cities in the rest of Afghanistan never fully recovered from the Mongol depredations during this period. Kabūl is one example provided by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.[199] At the same time, new groups emerged revealing that the region possessed dynamic aspects to it, particularly in the post-dissolution period. These included the Qara'una, Negüderi, as well as Yasa'uris, those who identified with the Chaghatayid prince.[200] The latter took residence in Bādghīs, suggesting that the Qara'una never regained it permanently in the fourteenth century, even after the Ilkhanid collapse.

Some, if not all, of the Mongol *tamma* in Afghanistan became increasingly independent and became known as the Qara'una, feared by many as bandits. This independence was not complete as the Chaghatayids firmly established their authority there by keeping a Chinggisid prince in the region. These layers

198 RD/RM, pp. 1048–150; RD/Thackston 2012, pp. 364, 368.
199 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, p. 303; IB/Gibb, p. 590.
200 Lee, *Qazaqlïq*, pp. 63–64.

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of authority (*tamma*/Qara'una, local dynasts, imperial, military vs. civil), complicated relations. While it was similar to other places within the empire, the frontier nature of the region added an additional layer of complexity to Mongol rule. Based on this relationship and other episodes of deference to the Chinggisids, I posit that Qara'una referred not so much to the mixed ethnicity of the descendants of Dayir's tamma, but rather that the "black" connotation referred to their social status of *qara* or black, meaning not royal.[201] One must remember that the Mongols, much like every army before them, took women as part of the spoils of conquest and as booty from raiding. The inevitable offspring would be mixed regardless of from where the women originated. As the region had been essentially an unassigned appanage with troops from all of the *uluses*, yet never visited by a Chinggisid, the Qara'una appear to have been reluctant to accept any authority. Perhaps only in the face of Chaghatayid might or the increasing activity of the Ilkhanids in Khurāsān did they finally become part of a khanate again. Indeed, when a Chinggisid was physically present, the Negüderis or Qara'una appeared to have been less troublesome. Somewhat isolated, the *tamma* developed a new identity even with periodic reinforcements. Qara'una gradually became a core identity for those descendants of the *tamma*.

Indeed, the Negüderi identity appears to have had a shorter life span and referred to a smaller group, whereas Qara'una stood the test of time. Neither the Ilkhans nor the Chaghatayid Khan fully reincorporated the *tamma* territory in Afghanistan or reintegrated the *tammachin* into their respective khanates. Both Negüderi and Qara'una became ethnonyms, although the Negüderi identity seems to have disappeared sometime in the sixteenth century. During the Mongol period, however, identifying the Negüderi vis-à-vis the Qara'una remains problematic as the authors who use the terms do so indiscriminately. Thus Qara'una eventually became a new Mongol identity – a tribal identity. This was aided by the fall of the Ilkhanate as well as the instability within the Chaghatayid Khanate after the death of Tarmashirin. This process was not unique to the Qara'una, however, as other bodies of Mongol troops also tribalized.[202] Yet, it is from the Qara'una that the *qarachu* Qazaghan established his leadership not only in Afghanistan, but also in Mawarannahr.[203] Curiously, within the fourteenth century Chaghatayid Ulus, Qara'una became

201 See Timothy May, "Color Symbolism in the Turko-Mongolian World", in *The Use of Color in History, Politics, and Art*, ed. Sungshin Kim (Dahlonega, GA: University of North Georgia Press, 2016): pp. 51–78.

202 Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, pp. 205–206. Jackson also notes the Jurma'īs of Fārs and Kirmān as well as the Ūghānīs in Kirmān undergoing this process.

203 For more on Qazaghan and the Qara'una see Beatrice Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 159–61.

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a pejorative term among the Chaghatayids in Moghulistān for those in Mawarannahr, suggesting that the Chaghatayids never truly viewed the Qara'unas as equal even in the thirteenth century. These Qara'una played a crucial role not only in Chaghatayid history, but also in the rise of Timur-i Leng or Tamerlane.

Despite the murky history of the Qara'una and Negüderi, some distinction can be made between the two. The first is that the Negüderi originated under the command of the Jochid noyan, Negüder. He accompanied the original *tamma* of Dayir. Thus, inevitably, at least a portion of the *tamma* became part of the Negüderi. Secondly, Negüder took residence in the environs of Ghazna. While Negüderis did appear in Khurāsān, it was never their "pasture," so to speak. Considering that reports have Negüderis raiding Kirmān, Hormuz, and Fārs, in addition to Lahore and Multān, access to both regions was important. As indicated earlier, the mountains separating the regions of Ghazna and Ghūr, allowed Ghazna some separation and perhaps autonomy. As was well established during the reign of Maḥmud the Great (r. 999–1030), access to India from Ghazna was never a problem. It appears that the Negüderi probably controlled the regions of Ghazna, Zābulistān, and Sīstān, thus providing access to Kirmān, and thence to Fārs. Or, to define it another way, the territory below the Helmand and Arghandāb Rivers.

One would be remiss to also not discuss the present-day implications of the Mongol activities in Afghanistan. As is well established, the Hazāra people of Afghanistan have long traced their origins to the armies of Chinggis Khan. Rather than Chinggis Khan, it should be clear that the true origins were in Dayir's *tamma* sent by Ögödei since the Mongols abandoned Afghanistan. Also, if one examines the territory of the Hazārajāt (the territory of the Hazāras) in central Afghanistan, it closely corresponds to the traditional lands of the *tamma* and Qara'unas. While other factors since the thirteenth century have played a part in forming their identity, and many have been displaced, beginning with their conquest by the "Iron" Amīr ʿAbd al-Rahman and of course the ongoing conflict since 1979, but their origins remain tied to *tamma* stationed in the region in the 1230s.[204]

204 There is an extensively literature on the Hazāras, much of it already referred to at the beginning of this work. For more on the Hazāras, I also refer the reading to the following which serve as good introductions and have extensive bibliographies for further reading. Alessandro Monsutti, "Hazāras," in *EI3*, edited by Kate Fleet, Gudrun Kramer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Evert Rowson (Leiden: Brill, 2017) consulted online on 24 January 2020, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30419; C. E. Bosworth, "Hazāras," in *EI2*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel,

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Finally, one should not forget that although the Mongols failed to conquer northern India, they did eventually establish rule over it. Peter Jackson has argued quite convincingly that Tughluq was a Mongol or Turco-Mongol.[205] While this claim is based largely on evidence from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Jackson's study demonstrates that the traveler was not just repeating spurious rumors. More importantly, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa indicated that Tughluq was a Qara'una.[206] This ironic twist marks the end of a stream of refugees who entered Delhi since Chinggis Khan's first invasion of Afghanistan. While not a Chinggisid, at least one of the "Black Ones" now became "White" with the establishment of a royal dynasty.[207]

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W. P. Heinrichs (Leiden: Brill, 2012), consulted online on 24 January 2020. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_8617.

205 Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, 178.

206 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 341; IB/Gibb, 649.

207 May, "Color Symbolism in the Turko-Mongolian World", pp. 51–78.

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CHAPTER 11

The *Atābak*s in the Mongol Empire and the Ilkhanate of Iran (602–736/1206–1335)

Michael Hope

Inconsistencies of nomenclature pose a serious challenge to historians seeking to learn more about the hierarchy and internal structure of the Mongol court. Researchers are constantly challenged by the terminology appearing in the primary sources, which often varies depending on the language of the text in question. The office of *atābak* is one example of an institution which is reported widely in the Persian, Armenian, and Arabic-language sources of the Ilkhanate (654–736/1256–1335), but is virtually unknown in the Chinese, Russian, and Latin texts documenting the history of the broader Mongol Empire. The term was inherited from the Seljuq period (429–592/1037–1194), when it was used to identify senior commanders who served as guardians of young princes and oversaw the administration of their armies, revenues and fiefdoms until they reached maturity. Whilst an extensive literature exists documenting the Seljuq *atābak*s, there has been very little written about the function of the *atābak*s in the Ilkhanate or any of the other Mongol successor states. The present paper will address this lacuna by elucidating the role of these contested agents within the early Mongol Empire and the Ilkhan court.

It will be demonstrated that the *atābak*s were merely one component of a much larger network of relationships that bound the khan to his military establishment. Ties of marriage, shared experience, and oaths were the basis for political loyalty during the formative years of the Mongol Empire and remained important throughout the period of Mongol rule in Iran. The Chinggisids were obliged to renew these relationships with their senior military families on a continuous basis as control of revenues, armies, and people passed from one generation to another. By entrusting a young prince to the care of a senior commander, the khans hoped to sustain family alliances begun during the reign of Chinggis Khan, which underpinned Mongol domination of Iran.

The history of the *atābak*s may also be used as a gauge to assess the health of the relationship between the khans and their military establishment. During the early days of the Mongol Empire, the *atābak*s were known for their loyalty and devotion to the princes whom they served. *Atābak*s tended to share in the fate of their wards, whether good or bad. Yet the final three decades of the

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Ilkhanate witnessed a series of conflicts between the khans and their *atābak*s, which were symptomatic of a growing divide between the crown and the court. This divide would finally see the dissolution of the Ilkhanate in 736/1335 and the emergence of a number of smaller amirates controlled by prominent Mongol military families.

1 The Khan and His Court

The term *atābak* has been well-documented and is believed to be a compound of the Turkish words for 'father' (*ata*) and 'great/lord' (*bek*).[1] During the Seljuq period (429–592/1037–1194), the *atābak*s were typically senior members of the sultan's household who were appointed as protectors or guardians for young princes sent to govern autonomous provinces. It has, therefore, been argued that the *atābak*s served as regents, overseeing the military and financial administration of the prince's realm before they came of age.[2] Claude Cahen's seminal research suggests that the term was first applied to the Seljuq vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk, when the latter was charged with the oversight of prince Malikshāh's household during the reign of Alp-Arslan (r. 1063–1072).[3] Niẓām al-Mulk was also responsible for the prince's education and welfare, but this was unusual and most later *atābak*s were almost exclusively charged with the political and military administration of the prince's estates, with variations of the title including *atābak al-jaysh* (*atābak* of the army) and *atābak al-ʿasākir*

1 Claude Cahen, 'Atābak,' *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 2, (London: Routledge, 1987), p. 878; Tamara Talbot-Rice, *The Seljuks in Asia Minor*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1961), p. 83; Maryam Īrānmanish, *Sharḥ va Taḥlīl-i ʻIqd al-ʻUla li'l-Muwquf al-ā'la*, (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Itilā'āt, 1384/2005–6), p. 57, fn. 10.

2 Andrew C. S. Peacock, 'Seljuq Legitimacy in Islamic History,' in *The Seljuqs: Politics, Society and Culture*, edited by Christian Lange & Songül Mecit, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 80–1; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (AD 1000–1217),' in *CHI*, Vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. John Andrew Boyle, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 112; Ibrahim Kafesoğlu, *A History of the Seljuks: İbrahim Kafesoğlu's interpretation and the resulting controversy*, trans. Gary Leiser, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), p. 101.

3 Claude Cahen, 'Atabak,' *EI2*, eds. Peri Bearman, C. E. Bosworth, Th. Bianquis, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs, Consulted online on 03 August 2016 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0831>; *See* also Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330*, trans. J. Jones-Williams (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1968), p. 37; Ann. K. S. Lambton, 'The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire,' *CHI*, Vol. 5, p. 239.

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(*atābak* of the soldiers) hinting at this martial quality.[4] After the death of Malikshāh in 1092, the *atābak*s increasingly came to dominate their young wards and to establish autonomous centres of power for themselves, which resulted in the speedy disintegration of the Seljuq Empire. Nevertheless, the title continued to exist under subsequent dynasties across the Near East, such as the Ayyūbids, Khwārazmshāhs, the Seljuqs of Rūm and the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria. Many Seljuq *atābak*s founded independent dynasties across Iran in Fārs, Luristān, Yazd, Azerbaijan, and Hormuz, all of which were incorporated intact into the Mongol empire in 1256.[5] Indeed, the *atābak*s were such a common part of the political life of the Islamic core territories that by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries contemporary writers used the generic term *mulūk va atābakān* (kings and *atābak*s) to refer to the various rulers of the Islamic world.[6] It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the term *atābak* appears quite regularly in the sources describing the Mongol empire.

We should, however, avoid the temptation to view the *atābak*s as constituting an institution or office with fixed duties and responsibilities. The title *atābak* was used to characterize a special relationship between a master and his vassals that was typical of most feudal states in which corporate ownership of land and people made it necessary for the ruling dynasty to placate a constellation of confederates and political allies in order to maintain their support.[7] The term '*atābak*' should not, therefore, be viewed as a political or government institution as such, but rather as a loose classification for more ephemeral bonds of friendship, trust, and familiarity. It was on this fluid basis that the khans were often obliged to maintain the loyalty of their commanders in the early Mongol empire and the Ilkhanate of Iran.

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4 David Ayalon, 'Atābak al-'Asākir,' *EI2*, Consulted online on 03 August 2016 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0832>; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-'l-a'lām*, edited by 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, vol. 48, (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1419/1999), p. 196; Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda al-Fikra fī Tārīkh al-Hijra*, edited by D. S. Richards, (Beirut: al-Shirkat al-Muttahidat-i li'l-Tawzī, 1998/1419), p. 72.

5 Ann K. S. Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History, 11th–14th century*, (London: Tauris, 1988), p. 246; Taef el-Azhari, 'The Office of the Atabeg in Syria under the Nurids and the Ayyubids,' *al-Masaq*, Vol. 11 (1999): pp. 47–66; Cahen, 'Atabak,' *EIr*, p. 878.

6 Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, edited by Bahman Karīmī, (Tehran: Iqbāl, 1374/1995–1996), p. 238; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdah*, edited by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī, (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1362/1983), p. 500.

7 Sammy E. Finer, *The History of Government From the Earliest Times*, *vol. 2, The intermediate ages,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 866–870; Dana Munro & Raymond Sontag, *The Middle Ages, 395–1500*, (New York: The Century Co., 1928), pp. 133–4; Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, translated by L. Manyon, 2 vols., (London; Routledge, 1962).

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Chinggis Khan was able to unify the Great Mongol Ulus on the basis of a series of alliances and oaths which he entered with various military households, often described as 'tribes.' These relationships took many different forms, but they were typically personal covenants between the khan and his vassals. The earliest such relationships were between Chinggis Khan and his *anda*s (sworn friends). The relationship of '*anda*' was a voluntary compact of friendship, entered into by two individuals, which was often described in terms of kinship (i.e. 'brotherhood,' 'fatherhood,' etc.). The relationship of *anda* was sealed with oaths of mutual obligation and service. In the case of Chinggis Khan and his erstwhile friend, Jamuqa, they swore that they would 'not abandon one another, they are each a life's safeguard for the other.'[8] Chinggis Khan also counted on the support of his *nököt* (sing. *nökör*; companions), who joined his service on the basis of similar oaths and pledges. The chief difference between the *anda* and the *nököt* was that the latter were theoretically subordinate to the khan, whereas the *anda* was a relationship between equals. The *nököt* most commonly pledged themselves to the service of Chinggis Khan in return for material rewards. For instance, when Sübe'etei Ba'adur, one of Chinggis's most famous companions, affirmed his loyalty, he promised that,

> I shall be a rat,
> And with the others
> I shall hoard up goods for you;
> I shall be a black crow,
> And with the others
> I shall gather for you
> All that is found outside:
>
> I shall be a felt covering,
> And with the others
> I shall try to make a cover for you [....][9]

In response, Chinggis Khan granted Sübe'etei and his other *nököt* command of armies and offices, saying, "[…] you, the senior ones, who for my sake came over from sworn friend Jamuqa wishing to become companions, will you not be my lucky companions? I have appointed each of you to your respective office."[10]

8 *SHM*, §117.
9 *SHM*, §124.
10 *SHM*, §124–5.

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Even Chinggis' household staff were obliged to provide oaths, affirming that they would perform their offices faithfully. In one instance, when Chinggis named three stewards to serve in his tent, they affirmed that "We shall not let you go without your morning drinks; we shall not neglect your drinks in the evening!"[11] These oaths, which helped to clarify the mutual responsibilities and duties of a ruler to his subjects, continued to be administered even after the unification of the Mongols under Chinggis Khan's rule, most notably in the institution of the *möchälgä* (binding pledge), documented by Maria Subtelny. This oath bound the Mongols to the khan as their new ruler during coronation ceremonies. Later it seems that senior commanders were also required to provide their sign or seal in confirmation of this oath.[12] Such oaths continued to be an essential part of government long after Chinggis Khan's death and helped to link new rulers with the existing military establishment of the Mongol empire.

Outside of these oaths, relationships between a khan and his commanders could be confirmed through marriage alliances. These alliances were contracted between Chinggis Khan and some of the leading families of the steppe, including the rulers of the Oirat, Onggirat, Ikires and Önggüt peoples. Those who were granted a Chinggisid princess in marriage were given the title of *güregen* (royal son in law) and were permitted to retain control of their former territories and peoples. The rulers of the Uyghur and the Koryo were amongst those who entered into such marriage alliances. Their unions were accompanied by further oaths of fealty and loyalty. The *Secret History of the Mongols* recorded that the *idi-qut* of the Uyghur "rejoiced" at the news of Chinggis's success and promised to become his "fifth son" and serve him faithfully. Upon receiving this oath, Chinggis granted the *idi-qut* one of his daughters in marriage and demanded that he come to submit in person, "bringing with him gold, silver, small and big pearls, brocades, damasks and silks."[13] The same language was used to characterize the relationship between the Koryo monarch, Wonjong, and Chinggis, who called on the Korean ruler to enter a relationship of "Elder Brother and Younger Brother" before taking a wife.[14] These marriages were not, however, a one-off event. The relationship between the Chinggisids and the *güregen* needed to be renewed with each subsequent generation exchanging

11 *SHM*, §124.

12 Maria E. Subtelny, 'The Binding Pledge (*möchälgä*): A Chinggisid Practice and its Survival in Safavid Iran,' in *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran, Empire and Society*, edited by Colin P. Mitchell (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 9–29.

13 *SHM*, §238.

14 William E. Henthorn, *Korea, the Mongol Invasion* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), p. 18.

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brides and grooms to maintain the special bonds that linked the khan to these powerful regional allies.[15]

Yet perhaps the most important bond linking the khan to his military establishment was the institution of the royal bodyguard (*keshig*). Indeed, the most important positions within the empire were granted to Chinggis Khan's *keshigten*, who guarded his life and served in his tent. The *keshikten* performed seemingly menial tasks for the khan, holding the tent-flap and serving him refreshments, but these services brought the *keshigten* into close contact with the khan and allowed them to build relationships of trust. The *keshigten* also helped to affirm the oaths of fealty and service that the khan's military aristocracy had made to him. Each senior commander was obliged to enrol a son to serve as a hostage in the *keshig*, where they would be taught to serve the khan before finally being dispatched to assume their parent's office.[16] The *keshigten* shared a great deal in common with the *atābak*s, who also helped to affirm alliances between the khan and the military households. The *atābak*s should be viewed in the context of this network of oaths and personal relationships that tied the khan to his military establishment.

2 The Atābaks in the Early Mongol Empire, 602–654/1206–1256

The term *atābak* does not appear in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, yet it is clear that such relationships did exist in the early empire established by Chinggis Khan. The first such example described in the *Secret History* comes from the early life of the imperial founder, Chinggis Khan. Before he assumed the leadership of the Mongols in 1206, the future Chinggis Khan, then known as Temüǰin, suffered the loss of his father, Yesügei, at the hands of Tatar

15 For the *güregen* See George Qingzhi Zhao, *Marriage as Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yüan Dynasty* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), p. 13; Anne Broadbridge, "Marriage, Family and Politics: The Ilkhanid-Oirat Connection," *JRAS* 26, no. 1–2, (2016): pp. 121–135; Jennifer Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage and Inheritance Practices in Early Mongol and Yüan Society, with Particular Reference to the Levirate," *Journal of Asian History* 20 (1986): p. 136.

16 Charles Melville, "The *Keshig* in Iran: The Survival of the Royal Mongol Household," in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, edited by Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 142–3; Thomas Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 113; Vasilii Vladimirovic Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, translated by H. R. Gibb, second edition (London: Luzac, 1958), p. 385; Isenbik Togan, *Flexibility and Limitation in Steppe Formations: The Kerait Khanate and Chinggis Khan*, (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 111–2.

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assassins. On his deathbed, Yesügei summoned one of his closest companions, Mönglik, and entrusted him with the care of his children and his wife saying, "I feel sick within me. You take care of your younger brothers, the little ones that I leave behind, and of your widowed elder sister-in-law (Hö'elün)."[17] From that moment onwards, Mönglik is given the honorific title of 'father' (*echige*) wherever his name appears in the history.[18] Unfortunately, the *Secret History*, has little specific information relating to Chinggis Khan's childhood and it is uncertain what role Mönglik would have played. He is mentioned separating from Chinggis Khan and his family at an early stage and joining his arch-rival Jamuqa, but he re-joined Chinggis Khan when the latter reached adulthood and was afforded the highest position in Chinggis Khan's *ordo* (camp/court).[19] Chinggis Khan even seems to have granted him his mother's hand in marriage; a common practice amongst the Seljuq *atābak*s in recognition of their honorary paternal authority.[20] Yet, much like the Seljuq *atābak*s, Mönglik and his family also showed signs of usurping power for themselves and Chinggis Khan was forced to depose him.[21] The *Secret History* does not speak at length about Mönglik, but the superficial similarities between his function and the earlier office of *atābak* suggest that he performed the same job.

Chinggis Khan continued the practice of appointing officials to oversee the upbringing of his own children after he united the Mongols in 1206. The Persian scholar-bureaucrat, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* (Collected Histories) reveals that Chinggis Khan appointed an *atābak* named Ilügä from the Jalayir people for his third son and heir, Ögödei (r. 1229–1241). He recalls that Ilügä was given an army to carry out his duties and that he behaved "like his [Ögödei's] father."[22] Little else is said of Ilügä in the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, yet by comparing the information provided by Rashīd al-Dīn with the account of the *Secret History* it becomes clear that the appointment of royal *atābak*s was tied closely to the allocation of appanages and the question of the succession. It was tradition amongst the early Mongols to grant their sons a share of the family inheritance prior to their father's death. This allocation typically took place as the sons were married, at which point they would take a portion of the family's animals and tents and set out to find new

17 *SHM*, §68.

18 Thomas Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: B. Blackwell, 1989), p. 194; *SHM*, §130, 168, 204, 244, 246.

19 *SHM*, §130 & 204.

20 Zhao, *Marriage as Political Strategy*, p. 10; Ruth Dunnell, *Chinggis Khan: World Conqueror* (Boston: Longman, 2010), p. 23.

21 *SHM*, §246.

22 Rashīd/Karīmī, *JT*, p. 50.

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pastures.[23] The same custom was followed by Chinggis Khan shortly after he had conquered the Tumat people in 1207. At that point "Činggis Qa'an decreed that he would apportion the subject people among his mother, children and younger brothers." He then famously gave his eldest son Jochi 9,000 soldiers, his second son Chaghadai 8,000 soldiers, and his youngest sons, Ögödei and Tolui, 5,000 soldiers.[24] He appointed commanders over these soldiers to manage them on behalf of his children, with his eldest sons receiving three commanders and the youngest receiving two.[25] One of the commanders allotted to Ögödei was none other than Ilügä, whom, as we have already noted, Rashīd al-Dīn characterized as Ögödei's *atābak*.

Rashīd al-Dīn, who is said to have derived much of his information on the early Mongol empire from a now lost Mongolian source, the *Altan Debter*, confirmed that each of Chinggis' sons were apportioned armies, pastures and people (*ulus*) which were to be supervised by senior commanders.[26] Many of these appanages, like those of Jochi on the Pontic Steppe, were very distant from the Mongolian heartland, and Chinggis seems to have wanted to impose some oversight on his sons to prevent them from separating from the rest of the empire. As he named the commanders Chinggis allegedly stipulated that

> I give these commanders to you, however, you children are still young and their responsibility is great. If at some time they (the children) commit a crime, do not punish them yourselves; consult with me [...] he gave this advice so that they would take the assistance of these commanders and encourage them to serve him.[27]

In other words, the commanders were empowered to ensure that the princes continued to show loyalty to the throne, whilst occupying their otherwise autonomous appanages.

The *Secret History* also implies that the *atābak*s had a duty of pastoral care, imparting their wisdom and experience to the princes charged to them. The text provides a brief summary of the duties Chinggis Khan gave to one of Chaghadai's commanders, stating that "Činggis Qa'an said, 'Ča'adai is headstrong and is, by nature, punctilious. Köke Čos shall stay at his side evening

23 Holmgren, 'Observations on Marriage,' p. 152; Lawrence Krader, 'Principles and Structures in the Organization of the Asiatic Steppe-Pastoralists,' *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 11, no. 2 (Summer, 1955): p. 72; Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, p. 25.

24 *SHM*, §242.

25 *SHM*, §243.

26 Rashīd al-Dīn/Karīmī: *JT*, pp. 408–413.

27 Rashīd al-Dīn/Karīmī: *JT*, 413.

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and morning, and shall tell him what he thinks.'"[28] This episode seems to make the case for the appointment of *atābak*s as advisors to supervise the princes and ensure that they would not come to any trouble. Indeed, Köke Chos is described personally rebuking Chaghadai several years later when he publicly questioned the paternity of his elder brother Jochi.[29] The administrative functions of these commanders, combined with the duty of care performed by Köke Chos accords very closely with the stated functions of the Seljuq *atābak*s in the Near East only a century earlier.

The same kind of pastoral care seems to have been part of the mandate given to Qadaq, the *atābak* of Ögödei's son and heir, Güyük (r. 1246–7). The scholar-bureaucrat, ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī, wrote that Qadaq had been in attendance on the Mongol ruler since his youth.[30] Yet Qadaq is not mentioned in any of the major events of Güyük's life prior to his coronation and it is only through his later prominence that we know of his position. Juwaynī and his Muslim continuators were particularly concerned by the fact that Qadaq was a Nestorian Christian and had therefore ensured that 'Güyük was brought up in the faith.' Whilst it is doubtful whether Güyük ever embraced Christianity, his sympathies for the religion are well documented, which suggest that Qadaq's views left their mark on the future khan at a young age.[31] Further circumstantial evidence that Qadaq played a role in Güyük's upbringing is provided by the fact that he was a Naiman. The Naiman resided in western Mongolia prior to their subjugation by Chinggis Khan and their close proximity to the city states and trade emporiums of the Tarim Basin saw them adopt the Uyghur script. Their literacy meant that they were often appointed by Chinggis Khan to serve as scribes and secretaries in his latent empire.[32] Ögödei may have hoped that Qadaq would pass on this knowledge to Güyük when he selected the Naiman as his son's *atābak*.

Such instruction was necessary to help the young Chinggisid princes navigate the future responsibilities that they were expected to fulfil in adulthood. It also provided them with alliances amongst the Mongol military establishment. The *atābak*s were appointed from Chinggis Khan's close circle

28 *SHM*, §243.

29 *SHM*, §254.

30 Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 213.

31 Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 212.

32 Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy*, trans. Thomas Nivison Haining (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 2; Thomas Allsen, 'The Rise of the Mongolian Empire and Mongolian Rule in North China,' *The Cambridge History of China v. 6, Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, eds. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 345.

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of advisors and their descendants, many of whom already commanded large armies and had the capacity to influence events at the heart of government. Ilügä, for example, was the son of Qadan, a commander of 1,000 troops and a former member of Chinggis Khan's personal bodyguard. By entrusting Ögödei to Ilügä's care, Chinggis was ensuring that his son would enjoy a similar relationship with his former guardsman's family. Indeed, Rashīd al-Dīn states that Ilügä went on to become a senior commander in the *ordo* (court) of Ögödei.[33] Likewise, Güyük's *atābak*, Qadaq, is reported to have commanded a troop of soldiers for Chinggis Khan when the latter invaded the Khwārazmshāh Empire (617–621/1220–1224).[34] By appointing Qadaq to be an *atābak*, Ögödei ensured that Qadaq would serve his son loyally when he came to the throne. He was not to be disappointed, as Qadaq became one of Güyük's most trusted and powerful officials. Juwaynī noted that the new khan was regularly ill and was forced to delegate most of his powers to Qadaq, who acted as the effective ruler of the empire alongside Chinqai Noyan, Ögödei's former secretary.[35] Writing slightly later, Rashīd al-Dīn went so far as to claim that Güyük 'bestowed all the wares and power of government on Qadaq and Chinqai and all good and evil and virtue and corruption was derived from them.'[36] This sentiment seems to have been reflected in the account of the Franciscan friar, Giovanni di Plano Carpini, who visited Güyük's court shortly after his coronation and reported that "Kadac" served as the "procurator of the whole empire" in addition to working as the chamberlain of the court, mediating Carpini's meeting with the khan.[37] Qadaq certainly seems to have been involved in all of the major events of Güyük's reign, including the trial and execution of his mother Töregene's chief minister, the Persian slave Fāṭima.[38] He was even reported to have overseen the appointment of local rulers in Iran.[39] The relationship between the khans and the *atābak*s was one of mutual support. The *atābak*s threw their moral and political strength behind the young princes and, in return, they acquired senior offices in the administration of the empire.

The bonds formed between an *atābak* and his prince often inspired strong devotion. Their loyalty was remarked on in the sources, which note that the *atābak*s regularly shared the same fate as their princes, whether good or bad.

33 RD/Karīmī, p. 50.
34 Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 92.
35 Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 213.
36 RD/Karīmī, *JT*, p. 573.
37 John of Plan Carpini "History of the Mongols", trans. A Nun of Stanbrook Abbey, in *The Mongol Mission*, ed. Christopher Dawson (London: Sheed & Ward, 1955), p. 66.
38 Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 200.
39 Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 212.

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The intimacy between the khan and his *atābak* was evident in the events following the death of Güyük when one of the former khan's sons, Naqu, and the latter's cousin, Shiremün, were accused of attempting to overthrow the new ruler, Möngke Qa'an, in 1251.[40] Möngke rounded-up the princes and their accomplices and had them brought to his court for trial. The princes, who by all accounts were still adolescents at the time of the failed coup, were spared any ill-treatment. Instead, Möngke's *yarghuchi*s (judges) began by questioning Shiremün's *atābak*, Baba Kardidi. The *atābak* initially refused to speak, but under heavy torture he confessed that they had plotted to murder Möngke and seize the throne. Baba Kardidi claimed that he and the other commanders had orchestrated the plot themselves and that the princes had been completely ignorant of their plans. Having spilled his secret, Baba Kardidi seized a blade and threw himself upon it in a final act of loyalty to his ward. It seems highly unlikely that the princes knew nothing of the plot (surely they would have suspected something as they were marching in force towards the *qa'an*'s court with barrels full of weapons!). Nevertheless, the fact that Juwaynī sought to attribute the crime to the prince's *atābak* is suggestive of the intimacy of their relationship. Shiremün may have been complicit in the crime, but Baba Kardidi's status as the prince's overseer meant that he bore ultimate responsibility.

The same level of devotion was exhibited by Ilügä and Qadaq for their princes' family. Indeed, both Ilügä and Qadaq were implicated in the abortive coup in support of Shiremün and Naqu. Ilügä's brother, Elchidei Noyan, stood firm in the face of the Toluid interrogators who questioned the coup leaders, reminding them that they had sworn to appoint a descendant of Ögödei to the throne. This brazen gesture of defiance, intended to shame the victorious supporters of Möngke, was thrown back in his face, when Qubilai observed that Ögödei's commanders had been the first to violate their oaths and the laws attributed to Chinggis Khan.[41] Qadaq also stood condemned by the new regime, with Juwaynī noting that the coup had largely been his fault. He tried to flee, but he was apprehended by the supporters of Möngke Qa'an and, after being subjected to an undoubtedly painful *yarghu* (trial), he is said to have confessed to supporting the rebels and was put to death.[42]

It may therefore be concluded that it was common for the Chinggisid rulers to entrust their children to the care of their commanders during the formative years of the Mongol Empire. All three of the first Mongol rulers are reported

40 The story of the attempted coup and the questioning of Baba Kardidi can be found in RD/Karīmī, p. 589.

41 RD/Karīmī, p. 51.

42 RD/Karīmī, p. 51.

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to have had such relationships with senior commanders, who are identified as *atābak*s in the Persian sources produced in the Ilkhanate. It seems that the *atābak*s served a number of different functions, both providing a degree of pastoral care whilst the prince was a child, and later forming intimate bonds of trust that allowed the *atābak*s to serve in senior positions once their prince came to power.

3 The Atābaks in the Ilkhanate, 654–736/1256–1335

When Möngke Qa'an dispatched his younger brother, Hülegü, to Iran in 1252, he ensured that the same oaths and alliances, which had underpinned the Mongol court in the east, would be duplicated in the west of the empire. Most of the soldiers who accompanied Hülegü on his mission against the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and the Ismāʿīlī sect were drawn from amongst his father Tolui's personal guard and the prince sought to affirm these historical ties through new covenants and bonds of fealty. Despite his efforts and those of his son Abaqa (r. 663–680/1265–1282), it did not take long for the Ilkhan military establishment to become entrenched in their positions of power. Regionalism and factionalism soon tarnished relations between the Hülegüids and their military elites, who regularly sought to subordinate the Ilkhans to their own sectional interests. This new and highly volatile environment was reflected in the accounts of the *atābak*s who were appointed to oversee the welfare of young Hülegüid princes. It became increasingly common for the *atābak*s to manipulate their princes to further their own aims and ambitions, as the former ties which had linked these families to the throne began to wither and disappear.

There was very little indication that such divisions would overtake the Ilkhanate in the first two decades of Hülegüid rule. The army that Hülegü took west was made up primarily of his father's former guardsmen, whose families had served the Mongol Empire since the reign of Chinggis Khan. Elgäi Noyan, who acted as the *amīr-i ordu* (commander of the court), and was descended from Chinggis Khan's former commander and household servant, Jochi Darmala, was among the senior members of the army. Elgäi's father had served in the guard of Tolui, Hülegü's father, before Elgäi himself was awarded to Hülegü.[43] Similarly, Suqunjaq Aqa, who commanded a wing of Hülegü's army, was descended from Sorqan Shira of the Suldus, one of Chinggis Khan's oldest companions. Sorqan's son Sodun had been enrolled in Tolui's *keshig*, in which capacity he had also commanded the right wing of Tolui's armies. His grandson, Suqunjaq, was now entrusted with the command of the bulk of

43 RD/Karīmī, p. 745.

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Hülegü's army.[44] The other wing of Hülegü's army was commanded by Buqa Temür, a prominent member of the Oirat, whose ancestor, Quduqa Beki, had entered a marriage alliance with Chinggis Khan and whose descendants continued to exchange brides with the royal family. This practice was continued by Hülegü himself, who married into the Oirat, thereby cementing his ties to Buqa Temür's family.[45] The army that Möngke dispatched with Hülegü to Iran, therefore, included a number of his family's former allies. Their presence helped to re-affirm old bonds of fealty and service amongst the younger generation.

Upon arrival in Iran, Hülegü had to build new ties with the Mongol soldiers who had already been stationed in the Near East. Many of these commanders had links to other branches of the Chinggisid family and so Hülegü was obliged to woo them into new political alliances. The means through which he achieved this purpose was to dispatch his children to partner the local commanders. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī recorded these appointments in similar language to the earlier allocation of armies and *atābak*s carried out by Chinggis Khan, writing that

> The land from the Oxus to the borders of Mazanderān, and Kūhistān and Qūmis from end to end, he gave to his eldest son, Abaqa, with the ring and tiara of that kingdom. The proud Arghūn Aga became adviser to that prince. The prince Tegüder Ughol, of the stock of Chagatai, was given the governorship of Jibālistān [i.e. the Caucasus] in its entirety, with Shiremün as his counsellor. He entrusted to Yoshmut, the senior of all of the princes, Azarbāījān, with Arrān and all of Mughān.[46]

Aside from the territory granted to Yoshmut, which was the core territory of the Ilkhan court, both Abaqa and Tegüder were entrusted to the supervision of commanders who had served in Iran long before the arrival of Hülegü. Shiremün was the son of Chormaqan, a senior commander in Chinggis Khan's household guard, who was dispatched west by Ögödei in 1229.[47] Arghun Aqa, whose father had previously worked as a servant in the house of Ögödei's *atābak*, Ilügä, was sent to administer Iran during the regency of Töregene Khatun (1241–6).[48] Both of these commanders lacked strong connections to the household of Hülegü and so it made sense to bind them to the Ilkhan throne by giving them the honour of supervising Chinggisid princes.

44 RD/Karīmī, pp. 135–6.
45 RD/Karīmī, p. 679.
46 Mustawfī/Ward, p. 208.
47 Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 149–150; RD/Karīmī, p. 54.
48 Juwaynī/Boyle, p. 506.

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The same appointments seem to be confirmed by Rashīd al-Dīn, who affirms that Shiremün retained control of Georgia and that Arghun Aqa remained in Khurasan during the reign of Abaqa.[49] Arghun Aqa held particularly strong influence during the reign of Abaqa, receiving the title of *muqatʿ-i mamālik* and another prince, Tübshin Oghul, to supervise.[50] In addition, he entered a marriage alliance with the Chinggisid family, marrying one of his sons, Lakzi, to one of Hülegü's daughters, Papa. In recognition of this union, Lakzi assumed the title of *güregen*, thereby increasing the prestige of Arghun Aqa's house.[51] Arghun Aqa was even described by Qazvīnī as a member of the *ʿumara al-ulus* (commanders of the realm) during the reign of Abaqa. The title was afforded to only four senior commanders, including Arghun Aqa, Suqunjaq Aqa, Abatay Noyan and Shiktur Noyan. This same group of four were described by the Syrian encyclopaedist, al-ʿUmarī, as exercising complete control over the realm.[52] They were distinguished from the khan's close companions (*ina'ut*/sing. *inaq*), who served in the royal household and who formed an informal council. The latter group, often referred to by the Persian term, '*khwāṣṣ*' (intimates), was made up of eight young commanders who seem to have been assigned to Abaqa's suite by his father, Hülegü. The *ina'ut* included Buqa and Taghachar, the sons of commanders who had been killed in the service of Hülegü. Their orphaned children were rewarded with prominent positions in his son's court.[53] The primary distinction between the *ʿumarā al-ulūs* and the *ina'ut*/*khwāṣṣ* seems to have been that the latter's fortunes depended upon the fate of their prince, whereas the *ʿumara al-ulus* were entrenched at the apex of the Ilkhan court.

The ties of fealty established by Hülegü with his military establishment ensured that Abaqa's reign (r. 663–680/1265–1282) was one of stability and resilience in the face of foreign attacks. Shiremün played a vital role defending the Ilkhanate against attacks launched by Berke Khan of the Golden Horde, both before and after Abaqa's succession in 663/1265. Arghun Aqa also played an important part in organizing the defences of Khurasan against a similar incursion, led by the Chaghatayid prince Baraq in 668/1269.[54] The willingness of the commanders to serve the khan reflects their shared interest in maintaining

49 RD/Karīmī, p. 743.
50 RD/Karīmī, p. 743.
51 RD/Karīmī, p. 684.
52 Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *Ẓafarnāma*, edited by Manṣūrah Sharīfzādah, vol. 10, (Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, 1387/2009), p. 77; ʿUmarī/Lech, p. 153.
53 Qazvīnī, *Ẓafarnāma*, p. 167; RD/Karīmī, pp. 744 & 773.
54 RD/Karīmī, p. 744, 756–765.

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their benefactor and patron on the throne of the Ilkhanate. Indeed, Abaqa was one of the few Hülegüids who passed his reign without suffering a revolt by the senior commanders. After his death, the military establishment jockeyed to place their candidates on the throne, whilst sectional and regional interests tore the Ilkhanate apart.

The evidence presented by Rashīd al-Dīn and Waṣṣāf suggests that Abaqa continued the practice of appointing *atābak*s to supervise his children. His eldest son and eventual successor, Arghun, was appointed to govern his former domains in Khurasan and is listed as having two *atābak*s, Jumaghan of the Sarghut and Jūjghān of the Barghut.[55] Neither of these commanders are mentioned in any great detail anywhere else in the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, or any other source, making it difficult to situate them. It is possible that 'Jūjghān' may have been a corruption of 'Jochi,' the name of one of Abaqa's *inaq*s, but this seems unlikely. In any case, it is interesting that Arghun was noted to have had two *atābak*s over the course of his childhood. Yet there is no reason to assume that this was uncommon. As we will see, Arghun's grandson, Abū Saʿīd was also described as having two *atābak*s. Indeed, it may have been beneficial to have more than one *atābak* as it would ensure a wider number of allies when the princes came to the throne.

It is, however, surprising that Abaqa did not attempt to entrust Arghun to the care of a more prominent family. Arghun Aqa died in 673/1275, but his sons Lakzi and Nawrūz were both prominent figures at the Ilkhan court. They are not mentioned entering into any covenant with Abaqa after his coronation and Lakzi subsequently became a strong supporter of Abaqa's brother, Aḥmad Tegüder.[56] Abaqa did, however, renew the former marriage ties that linked Hülegü with the *güregen* families of the Onggirat and Oirat, whose power-base was situated in Iraq. Nevertheless, this was not enough to guarantee a smooth succession for his son, Arghun, who was overlooked for the throne in 680/1282.

Abaqa's brother, Aḥmad, possessed a stronger set of alliances and was the commanders' choice to succeed Abaqa. In truth, his strongest advocate seems to have been his mother, Qutui Khatun, a member of the Onggirat who was capable of mobilizing her kinsmen behind her son's claim.[57] Yet this goodwill was soon squandered as a result of Aḥmad's abandonment of the war with the Mamluks and his neglect of the senior commanders. His rising unpopularity

55 Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī, *Shuʿab-i Panjgānah*, MS. Istanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmad III, Catalogue No. 2937, p. 157.

56 RD/Karīmī, p. 795; ʿAbd Allāh Ḥaḍrat-i Waṣṣāf, *Tahrīr-i Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, edited by ʿAbd al-Muḥammad Āyatī, (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1346/1967–8), p. 76.

57 RD/Karīmī, pp. 783–5.

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led to him being deposed in 683/1284. His replacement, Abaqa's son, Arghun (r. 683–690/1284–1291) was placed on the throne by his father's former *inaq*s, including Taghachar and Buqa.[58] Having assumed the throne, Arghun quickly moved to try to consolidate his relationship with the senior families of his realm, chief among them being the descendants of Arghun Aqa. Lakzi Güregen was pardoned (after a lashing) for his former support of Aḥmad and his brother, Nawrūz, who had actively supported Arghun, was given one of the new khan's sisters in marriage as well as custody of Arghun's eldest son, Ghazan.[59] He is named by a number of sources as Ghazan's *atābak*, and he may have concurrently served as the protector of Ghazan's younger brother Öljeitü who was dispatched to Khurasan as well.[60] Arghun also won favour with Taghachar, a commander who had been raised in the household of Abaqa and had subsequently been given control over a regiment of troops stationed in Persian Iraq. Taghachar was entrusted with the care of another of Arghun's sons, Prince Khitay, about whom very little is known.[61] Meanwhile, Arghun gave his cousin, Prince Jushkab, into the care of Uruq, another of his father's *inaq*s and the governor of Baghdād.[62]

These ties helped to consolidate Arghun's hold on the throne, but his grasp of power was still tenuous. He had been elevated to the throne by a faction of commanders led by his father's former *inaq*, Buqa Chingsang, who duly assumed control of the civil and military administration of the Ilkhanate. Rashīd al-Dīn claims that Buqa left Arghun with nothing but the title of *pādshāh* and that he was no longer consulted on major government matters.[63] This state of affairs proved intolerable for Arghun, who conspired with a small group of confidants to marginalize and then overthrow Buqa in 1289. By this point, it seems that the interests of the crown and court had begun to grow apart. The execution of Buqa Chingsang and the purge of his family made other leading commanders nervous about their positions. When Arghun showed signs of wanting to replace Nawrūz as well, he turned against Ghazan and launched a five-year rebellion which saw the eastern half of Arghun's realm plunged into chaos. Between 1289 and 1294, Nawrūz employed a series of at least four

58 RD/Karīmī, p. 808; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, p. 137; Qazvīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdah*, p. 595.

59 RD/Karīmī, p. 741.

60 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-ʿārāb fī funūn al-ādab*, edited by Najīb Muṣṭafa Fawāz & Hikmat Kushlī Fawāz, vol. 27, (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿIlmiyya, 1424/2004), p. 273; RD/Karīmī, p. 808.

61 RD/Karīmī, p. 933.

62 RD/Karīmī, p. 815.

63 RD/Karīmī, p. 815; BH/Budge, p. 477; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, p. 139.

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different Chinggisid proxies to legitimate his control of Khurasan.[64] It was only when Ghazan agreed to make peace with him and gave him a senior position in his court that Nawrūz was finally willing to abandon his uprising at the end of 694/1294.[65]

Taghachar also baulked at the increasing encroachment of Arghun's regime and in 690/1291, when Arghun was bedridden with illness, Taghachar used his status as *atābak* to launch a minor coup within the Mongol court. When he learned of the khan's illness he announced a celebration for the birthday of his ward Khitay at his home in Tabriz. Once Arghun's senior commanders were safely inside he had them all slaughtered, thereby effectively toppling Arghun's government.[66] Taghachar was subsequently involved in a number of plots against Arghun's successor, Gaikhatu (r. 690–4/1291–5). Most of these attempts failed, but he was not severely punished, most likely because he was still holding his Chinggisid prince hostage.[67] It was not until the reign of Ghazan (r. 694–703/1295–1304) that Khitay died and the khan determined to execute Taghachar for his crimes.[68]

The uprising of the *atābak*s was symptomatic of a much deeper instability, which gripped the Ilkhanate between 680/1282 and 696/1297. During these years, the Ilkhanate saw the first regicide to be committed anywhere in the Mongol Empire, with the deposition and execution of Aḥmad Tegüder at the hands of Buqa and his accomplices.[69] Following the death of Arghun and the massacre of his officials at the hands of Taghachar, his brother and successor Geikhatu was also deposed and murdered by the same faction of commanders.[70] The military families had begun to assert their right to office and property at the expense of the throne and the *atābak*s were simply one of many such commanders to press their claims. The boldness with which the commanders pushed their own sectional interests suggests that they had become entrenched in their offices and that they no longer relied upon the support of the Hülegüid monarchs for their power.

64 RD/Karīmī, pp. 813 & 819; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, p. 190; Michael Hope, 'The Nawruz King: The Rebellion of Amir Nawruz in Khurasan (688–694/1289–1294) and its Implications for the Ilkhan Polity at the end of the Thirteenth Century,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 78, no. 3 (2015): p. 463.

65 RD/Karīmī, p. 879; Waṣṣāf, *Tahrīr-i Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, pp. 192–3.

66 RD/Karīmī, pp. 824–5; Qazvīnī, *Ẓafarnāma*, p. 190; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, pp. 147–8.

67 RD/Karīmī, p. 832; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, p. 159.

68 RD/Karīmī, p. 933.

69 RD/Karīmī, pp. 798–800; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, pp. 77–80; Qazvīnī, *Ẓafarnāma*, p. 147.

70 RD/Karīmī, p. 837; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, pp. 168–9; Qazvīnī, *Ẓafarnāma*, pp. 219–223.

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The struggle between the crown and the court was suspended during the reign of Ghazan (r. 694–703/1295–1304), who conducted a purge of the senior commanders, including both Nawrūz and Taghachar. Thereafter, Ghazan is recorded to have established a number of marriage alliances with the senior commanders of his father's household, thereby renewing past oaths of fealty and loyalty. Virtually all of these alliances were one-way, with Ghazan taking wives from the Jalayir, the Onggirat and Oirat, as well as the family of Tughan Quhistanī, a senior commander in Khurasan.[71] Yet Ghazan did not have any of his own daughters to give and no *atābak*s are recorded as having been appointed over his sons. Ghazan's failure to grant his own children to the care of an *atābak* may be a sign of the distrust that he held for the commanders as a whole, and the fear that they might use these relations as a means to promote their own agenda.

Nevertheless, there is at least one last notable example of an *atābak* rising to power within the Ilkhanate during the reign of Ghazan's brother, Öljeitü (r. 1304–1317). In 713/1313–4, Öljeitü decided to dispatch his son, Abū Saʿīd, to govern Khurasan, albeit he was only aged nine at the time. The prince's youth and inexperience meant that Öljeitü appointed an old companion, Sevinj Aqa, to serve as the latter's *atābak* with the words

> I have joined him [Sevinj] to your court as he is one of the most notable commanders and has long served this government and has grown wise and skilful through the passage of trials and exertions, and has tasted both warm and cold and day and night. Neither transgress against his words or his council, which in all matters is expedient for the realm and the faith.[72]

Sevinj was a close confidant of Öljeitü's house as his father, Shīshī Bakhsī, had served as the overseer of Arghun Khan's court.[73] Moreover, Sevinj had been the first to inform Öljeitü of his brother Ghazan's death, allowing him to speed west and seize the throne before any of his rivals had the chance to interfere.[74] The Temürid historian, Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, claimed that

71 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Shuʾab-i Panjgānah*, p. 167.

72 Mīr Muḥammad b. Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Khwāndshāh Mīrkhwānd, *Tārīkh-i Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ*, edited by Riḍā Qulī Khān, vol. 6 (Tehran: Markazī-yi Khayyam Pīrūz, 1338/1959–1960), p. 372.

73 RD/Karīmī, p. 792.

74 Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl-i Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh Rashīdī*, edited by Khānbābā Bayānī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Anjuman Āthār ʿIlmī, 1350/1961–2), p. 65.

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the connection between Sevinj and Abū Saʿīd dated back to the prince's birth in 704/1304–5 when his wife, Oghul Qandī, was named the prince's wet-nurse.[75] He seems to have remained in Sevinj's care when the latter was appointed governor of Baghdād by Öljeitü, because we are told that special celebrations were held on his fifth birthday in Sevinj's home. The celebrations were part of a special Mongolian ceremony, in which the prince was mounted on a horse for the first time.[76] The relationship continued until Abū Saʿīd was awarded the government of Khurasan, at which point Sevinj dutifully moved to serve as the overseer of his estate and chief commander of his armies. Yet he did not perform these duties on his own. Ḥāfiẓ Abrū claims that Öljeitü appointed both Sevinj Aqa and Amīr Alghu to be his son's *atābak*, albeit that Alghu assumed a much less prominent role.[77] Indeed, Alghu is only mentioned twice in Qāshānī's chronicle of Öljeitü's rule, in which he is described as the son of Buqa Yarghuchi and the commander of a *tümen* (unit of soldiers) in Khurasan, where he presumably first came to the attention of Öljeitü when the latter was posted there by his brother Ghazan. He is also described as one of the commanders who performed the *möchälgä*, placing his seal on the proclamation declaring Öljeitü ruler of the Ilkhanate.[78] Thereafter, he is absent from the sources and it seems that he ceded primary responsibility for Abū Saʿīd's care to Sevinj.

The young prince was also allotted a court of his own. Each of the great magnates of the land as well as the senior bureaucrats were expected to send at least one of their children to serve alongside Sevinj.[79] Abū Saʿīd's court in Khurasan was a microcosm of the greater Ilkhan court and Sevinj was expected to oversee its management. This was no small task, since the medieval province of Khurasan incorporated most of eastern Iran from the Oxus River up to Mount Damāvand. The historian and revenue official, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, who served in Abū Saʿīd's ministry, wrote a geographical treatise of the Mongol-ruled territories, in which he claims that, unlike the other provinces of the empire, the revenues of Khurasan were kept in a separate treasury

75 Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn wa Majmaʿ-i Baḥrayn*, edited by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Navāʾī, (Tehran: Muʾassasah Muṭālaʾāt va Taḥqiqāt-i Farhangī Pizhūhishgāh, 1372/1991–1992), p. 53.

76 Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn*, p. 53.

77 Abrū, *Dhayl-i Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, p. 65.

78 Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Pādshāh Saʿīd Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Ūljāytū Sultan Muḥammad Ṭayyib Allāh Marqada*, edited by Mahīn Hamblī (Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishārāt-i ʿIlmī va Farhangī, 1384/2005–6), pp. 8 & 11.

79 Qazvīnī, *Tārīkh-i Juzīdah*, p. 609; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ*, p. 373.

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managed by the viceroy of the east.[80] Hence, we can assume that Sevinj's new position entailed huge new responsibilities. Indeed, in one instance, when Öljeitü confirmed a local Mongol commander, named Abū Yazīd, over his father's soldiers, Abū Yazīd was still obliged to travel to the court of Sevinj to obtain his *tamgha* (seal) confirming his appointment.[81] These accounts conform quite closely with the information that we already possess about the function of the *atābak*, insofar as he was obliged to serve as instructor, overseer, and political ally of the young prince.

Yet, as was the case with his predecessors, there were concerns expressed in the sources about the potential for Sevinj to abuse the trust placed in him to win concessions for himself. The Temürid historian, Samarqandī, explicitly stated this concern in his account of Sevinj's nomination to become Abū Saʿīd's *atābak*. He had Öljeitü tell Sevinj that the latter should "never become conceited 'that I brought-up the king and am raising him' and [nor should you] show signs of acting improperly so as to cause the disruption of the realm and the government…." Sevinj responded simply by saying "who am I to transgress my limits? The favour of the *pādshāh* has brought me to this status."[82] His words hardly seem reassuring in hindsight. True, the ruler appointed the *atābak*, but when that ruler died the *atābak* could do as he pleased. In the case of Sevinj, when Öljeitü died he attempted to delay the coronation of Abū Saʿīd in order to prepare sufficient forces to seize control of the realm. His rivals at the *ordo* managed to seize Abū Saʿīd, forcing Sevinj to abandon these plans.[83]

Yet, Sevinj remained an important figure at the Ilkhan court until his death in 717/1318. His intimate relationship with the Ilkhan, which had lasted for most of the Ilkhan's life, meant that he continued to exercise influence over Abū Saʿīd. He is said to have been a central figure at Abū Saʿīd's coronation, lifting him onto the throne and crowning him as the successor to Hülegü's realm. Thereafter, he returned to his former post in Baghdād, whilst his brother, Ugrunch, is described by Shabānkāraʿī as the "commander of the Uyghurs."[84]

80 Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb Composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazvīn in 740 (1340)*, edited by Guy Le Strange, (Leiden: Brill, 1919), p. 146.

81 Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb Harāvī, *Tārīkhnāmah-i Harāt*, edited by Ghulām Riḍā Ṭabāṭābaʾī Majd, (Tehran: Asāṭīr, 1383/2004–2005), p. 656.

82 Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn*, p. 55.

83 Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn*, pp. 57–8.

84 Abrū, *Dhayl-i Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, p. 122; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Shabānkāraʿī, *Majmaʿ al-Anṣāb*, edited by Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith, (Tehran: Muʿasisih Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1363/1984–5), p. 300; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, p. 369.

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His support was critical in helping Abū Saʿīd to resist the domination of another senior commander, Amir Chupan, in 728/1327.

The account of Sevinj Aqa is the last explicit reference to an *atābak* serving in the Ilkhanate of Iran. Yet this need not mean that the institution ceased to exist. If anything, the role of the commanders as guardians for the Chinggisid princes seems to have been enhanced by the death of Abū Saʿīd. His passing signalled a new competition for power amongst the leading military families, each of whom sought to place their own Chinggisid prince upon the throne. These relationships held very little in common with the earlier ties of mutual support and fealty, characteristic of the early Mongol Empire. Rather, powerful commanders sought to pluck junior members of the Chinggisid family from obscurity to legitimate the military dictatorships created in the Ilkhan provinces of Iraq, Azerbaijan, and Khurāsān. Whereas the earlier appointment of *atābak*s had served to strengthen oaths of fealty between the khan and his commanders, the princes who were put forward by the Jalayirid, Chupanid and Nawrūzian commanders of the former Ilkhanate had no capacity to influence the behaviour of their protectors.[85]

The imbalance that we see in the relationship between the commanders and the princes in the middle of the fourteenth century was a sign of how far the interests of the khans had diverged from those of their commanders. These relationships had been conceived by Chinggis Khan as part of a much larger constellation of oaths, marriage alliances and patronage that helped him unify the Great Mongol Ulus in 1206. These bonds needed to be renewed with each passing generation as the control of offices, revenues, and soldiers passed from one generation to another and the *atābak*s played an important role within this system. The appointment of *atābak*s provided the commanders with affirmation of their former titles and duties as well as boosting their prestige. For their part, the Chinggisid princes benefitted from the advice and political support of the *atābak*s when they came to the throne. Yet the interests of the crown and the court diverged noticeably in the Ilkhanate after the death of Abaqa Khan and the *atābak*s could no longer be relied upon to reinforce the authority of the Chinggisids. Instead, the *atābak*s joined other prominent

85 For the decade after Abū Saʿīd's death, *See* Jean Aubin, 'Le *quriltai* de Sultan Maydān (1336),' *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 279, nos. 1–2 (1991): pp. 175–197; Charles Melville, '*The Fall of Amir Chupan and the Decline of the Ilkhanate, 1327–37: A Decade of Discord in Mongol Iran*,' (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1999); Patrick Wing, *The Jalayirids: Dynastic State Formation in the Mongol Middle East*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp. 74–105; John. A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khāns," *CHI*, Vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, edited by John A. Boyle, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 413–7.

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families in the pursuit of their own factional interests, using princes to assert their hereditary right to control revenues, armies, and offices.

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PART 4

The Ilkhans in a World of Christendoms

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CHAPTER 12

The *History of Mar Yahballaha and Rabban Sawma* as a Source for Ilkhanid History

Pier Giorgio Borbone

The *History of Mar Yahballaha and Rabban Sawma* (= *History*)[1] is an anonymous Syriac narrative, consisting in the biography of the Catholicos of the Church of the East, Mar Yahballaha III (born Marqos, Koshang, ca. 1248–d. Marāgha, 1317), and his mentor, the monk Sawma (b. Khanbaliq, ca. 1225–d. Baghdād, January 1294). The work came to light in Kurdistan in 1883–1884, when a manuscript containing the *History*, a previously unknown text, was shown to some American missionaries by the local Syrian clergy.[2] Soon the *History* was published in its original language;[3] then translations appeared, first into French,[4] and subsequently in several other languages.[5]

1 This title, usually adopted by scholars when referring to the work, is an abridged version of a longer phrase found as an *incipit* in the manuscripts: *History of the father of fathers and lord and chief of shepherds Mar Yahballaha, Catholicos, Patriarch of the East, and of Rabban Sawma, visitor-general, Eastern Turks* (*Tashʿītā d-abā d-abāhātā w-mārā w-rēshā da-rʿāwātā mār Yahballāhā qātoliqā pāṭaryārkis d-madnḥā wad-Rabbān Ṣawmā sāʿorā gāwānāyā ṭurkāyē madnḥāyē*; see Ms. London, British Library, Or. 3636, f. 1r).

2 The discovery was announced by Isaac Hollister Hall in October, 1886. The original Syriac manuscript had allegedly been found a couple of years earlier (in 1883 or 1884), in a church in the village of Minyanish in the Tyari region. The last local Nestorian monk, Rabban Yonan, made a copy of it, which was later taken to Urmia (in 1885) by a priest named Oshana, who collaborated with the American missionaries. Soon further copies were made at the American mission, among which was that described by Hall. In 1886, according to Hall, the original manuscript was in the possession of the Nestorian patriarch at his seat of Qodshanis, in Kurdistan.

3 The first edition appeared in 1888: *Histoire de Mar Jab-alaha, patriarche, et de Raban Sauma*, ed. Paul Bedjan (Paris: Maisonneuve & C. Leclerc, 1888), followed in 1895 by a second edition revised and corrected by the same editor, father Paul Bedjan (Paris and Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1895). A new edition appeared in 2009: *Tashʿītā d-Mār Yahballāhā wad-Rabbān Ṣawmā, b-yaṣiput*, ed. Pier Giorgio Borbone (Moncalieri: Lulu, 2009); the same Syriac edition is reproduced in the Italian translation by P. G. Borbone, see note 5 and Bibliography); we will refer to it in our paper.

4 Jean-Baptiste Chabot, "Histoire du patriarche Mar Jabalaha III et du moine Rabban Çauma," *Revue de l'Orient latin* 1 (1893): pp. 567–610; 2 (1894): pp. 73–143; 235–304. Reprinted as a book: *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III Patriarche des Nestoriens* (*1281–1317*) *et du moine Rabban Çauma Ambassadeur du roi Argoun en Occident* (*1287*) (Paris: Ernest Leroux, éditeur, 1895).

5 *The History of Yaballaha III Nestorian Patriarch and of his Vicar Bar Sauma, Mongol Ambassador to the Frankish Courts at the End of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. James A. Montgomery

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Dating and authorship are not explicitly indicated in the text. As for the dating, a secure *terminus ante quem* for the work's composition may be suggested. The *History* mentions Amir Irinjin, accompanying his names with the formula "may he be preserved alive": since Irinjin was executed in June 1319, the *History* must have been finished before the middle of 1319. In any case, several clues in the narrative indicate that in all likelihood the *History* was written as the events unfolded, and possibly revised from time to time.

The author was certainly a cleric, and not one of low status, considering his literary and linguistic skills and his familiarity both with the higher ranks of the Church of the East and the grandees of his time.[6] Heleen Murre-van den Berg proposed to identify the author of the *History* with Mar Joseph, metropolitan of Erbil, who is mentioned but never named in the *History*. Mar Joseph's career fits very well with the cited characteristics of the author: in February 1318, after the death of Yahballaha III, he in turn became Catholicos of the Church of the East with the name Timothy II.[7]

The *History* is seldom considered among Syriac historical works: it is absent, for instance, in a list of such works, which claims to be complete,[8] and a recent

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1927); *The Monks of Kûblâi Khân*, trans. and ed. E. A. Wallis Budge (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1928); Nina V. Pigulevskaja, trans., *Istorija Mar Jabalakhi III i Rabban Saumy* (Moskva: Vostochnaja literatura, 1958); *Tashʿītā d-Mār Yahbʾalāhā Pātaryarkā wad-Rabbān Ṣawmā*, pusheqta men leshana ʿatiqa b-yad Matay d-bet Patros; Karkuk, Iraq: Matbaʿta d-Ninwe, 1961); Pier Giorgio Borbone, *Storia di Mar Yahballaha e di Rabban Sauma. Un orientale in Occidente ai tempi di Marco Polo* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani editore, 2000); second edition with Syriac text: *Storia di Mar Yahballaha e di Rabban Sauma. Cronaca siriaca del XIV secolo / Tashʿītā d-Mār Yahballāhā wad-Rabbān Ṣawmā* (Moncalieri: Lulu, 2009); *Die Mönche des Kublai Khan. Die Reise der Pilger Mar Yahballaha und Rabban Sauma nach Europa* (ed. Alexander Toepel; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008).

6 This may be inferred by the author's remarks at a crucial point in the narrative, when power passes from the late Arghun to his successor Gaikhatu: "Who doesn't suffer following a shift in power? How could that not be a difficult situation for anybody, and a bitter one to describe? When one knows all the king's noblemen and all the members of the royal house, not to mention the kings of one's time!" (p. 40*).

7 Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "The Church of the East in Mesopotamia in the Mongol Period," in Roman Malek (ed.), *Jingjiao. The Church of the East in China and Central Asia* (Nettetal: Monumenta Serica Institute – China-Zentrum, 2006), pp. 377–94; Pier Giorgio Borbone, "L'autore della 'Storia di Mar Yahballaha e di Rabban Sauma,'" in *Loquentes Linguis. Studi linguistici e orientali in onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti*, edited by Pier Giorgio Borbone, Alessandro Mengozzi and Mauro Tosco, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 103–8.

8 "Bibliographie des sources historiques syriaques," in Muriel Debié (éd.), *L'historiographie syriaque* (Paris: Geuthner, 2009), pp. 211–17.

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book about Syriac historical writing does not mention the *History* at all.[9] The reason for this oversight may probably be found in the prominence of the biographic genre which at first sight characterizes the *History*.[10] Nevertheless, the reader should not overlook what the author states about his aims at the beginning of his work:

> We shall therefore appropriately relate the details of their families, their country, and the peculiar way they were raised and the life they spent together. While relating their history, we shall also write about the occurrences of their time – what happened to them, through them or because of them, and we shall relate everything just as it happened (p. 8*).[11]

Accordingly, the author's interests extend beyond the biography of two eminent clergymen of the Church of the East, and he sets out to provide a veritable chronicle of events – as is clearly apparent from the narrative frame, which from a certain point onwards becomes strictly chronological.

The *History* may be divided into eight parts based on its contents (page numbers refer to Bedjan's and Borbone's[12] editions):

I. 1–39 (7*–21*): The childhood of Rabban Sawma and Rabban Marcos; their education and their monastic life; their journey to the West; Marcos is elected patriarch (Catholicos);
II. 39–46 (21*–25*): The false accusations against Mar Yahballaha; the beginning of the reign of Arghun.
III. 47–86 (25*–39*): The journey of Rabban Sawma to Europe.

9 Muriel Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque. Transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitares entre héllenisme et islam. Avec des répertoires des textes historiographiques en annexe* (Leuven-Paris-Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2015).

10 The Syriac word *tashʿītā* "narration, account, story, history," which derives from the verbal root *shʾ* in its derivative form *ʾeshtaʿy* "to relate, narrate, tell," is a favourite label for East-Syriac narratives about saints, monasteries and important events in Church history, while chronicles – especially the West-Syriac ones – are commonly called *maktbānut zabnē*, literally "writing of the times." Perhaps this label misled scholars, resulting in the exclusion of the *History* from the catalogue of Syriac historical works. Nevertheless, the *History* shares with the genre of *maktbānut zabnē* the format of a chronologically arranged narrative, for more than half of its content (see the Appendix: Chronology of the *History of Mar Yahballaha and Rabban Sawma*).

11 Quotations from the *History* are in my translation from the Syriac text edited in Borbone, *Tashʿītā d-Mār Yahballāhā wad-Rabbān Ṣawmā*, 2009.

12 Bedjan, *Histoire de Mar-Jabalaha*, 1895; Borbone: *Tashʿītā d-Mār Yahballāhā wad-Rabbān Ṣawmā*, 2009 (marked by *).

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IV. 86–120 (39*–52*): The life of the Church from the death of Arghun to the beginning of Ghazan's reign.
V. 121–132 (52*–56*): Rebellion and turmoil in the citadel of Erbil.
VI. 131–154 (56*–65*): The building of a new monastery in Marāgha; Ghazan shows kindness towards the Catholicos; the attitude of Öljeitü, Ghazan's successor, towards the Church and the Catholicos.
VII. 154–201 (65*–83*): The siege of Erbil and the massacre of its Christian population.
VIII. 201–205 (83*–85*): The last years of Mar Yahballaha and his death.

For the first parts (I–II) the sources of the *History* are apparently the memoirs of both Rabban Sawma and Mar Yahballaha, collected by the author. As for the narrative of the journey of Rabban Sawma (III), the author says it consists of a Syriac summary of the report written in Persian by Rabban Sawma himself.[13] The information for the last, and longest, part (IV–VIII) derive most likely from the author's participation in the events.[14] Therefore, the narrative may be considered in part as an eyewitness report.

Part III, devoted to the embassy of Rabban Sawma in Europe, has elicited the interest of translators, readers and scholars more than the rest of the *History*. Nevertheless, the author puts no special focus on it compared to other parts of the narrative. He devotes more space to the destiny of the Christians living in the citadel of Erbil, an instance that from his point of view deserved a detailed explanation of the events, as it resulted in the obliteration of the Christian population of the city.[15]

The author was also selective in his information about Mar Yahballaha's activities as head of the Church of the East: his reports are abundantly detailed when it comes to the restoration and building of churches and a monastery or to Yahballaha's relationship with the sovereigns. On the contrary, what pertains

13 It is difficult to determine for whom Rabban Sawma wrote the Persian report: perhaps for the Ilkhan and/or his courtiers – Syriac being a more suitable language, if the report had been meant for circulation among the Church. But some details in the narrative do not fit well with a document to be read by Mongol rulers, as for instance the statement that "their [= of the Mongols] heart is harder than rock …" (p. 35*).

14 We may quote what the author says when reporting the looting of the Catholicos' residence in Maragha (1295): "Perhaps the reader, who has not found himself in the middle of such a storm, will think the writer is not meaning this seriously; but verily the author calls God to witness that it is impossible to relate or write even one of the things that happened" (p. 46*).

15 This, among other clues, led Heleen Murre-van den Berg to suggest the author of the *History* could be Mar Joseph, metropolitan of Erbil at the time of the reported events (see note n. 7): he would have taken the opportunity to explain his role, how and why he failed to save his community.

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to the relations of Mar Yahballaha with Latin Christians, both in the Ilkhanid domains and in the West, remains largely outside the scope of the narrative: Mar Yahballaha's good relationship with the Latin missionaries, such as the Dominican friar Riccoldo da Montecroce, and his contacts with the Catholic pope after the mission led by Rabban Sawma, are not mentioned at all.[16] We are well informed about both instances by other sources, such as Riccoldo himself[17] and documents in the Vatican Archives.[18]

For the present purposes, we are going to focus on two episodes reported in the *History*, which provide information about the policy of the Ilkhans towards the Church of the East.

1 The Trial of the Catholicos

The first one corresponds to Part II. According to the narrative, just after the election of Aḥmad,

16 We should not forget that Rabban Sawma was sent to Europe as one of several ambassadors by Arghun, and the aims of the mission were primarily political. According to the *History*, Pope Nicholas IV sent the Catholicos, through Rabban Sawma, "a patent letter granting him patriarchal authority over all the Eastern [Christians]" (p. 38*). But the content of the letter, known to us from a copy preserved in the Vatican Archives (Regist. Vatic., 44, c. 13, f. 88v), does not fit that description: addressed to "Venerabili fratri Yaualahe, episcopo in partibus Orientis," after greetings and acknowledgement of the favour granted by the Catholicos to the Franciscan missionaries in his country, the letter contains a Catholic profession of faith, which Pope Nicholas IV expects the Catholicos to agree to and teach his people (Latin letter published in Chabot, *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, 1895, pp. 195–99).

17 Riccoldo spent several years in the Near East, preaching in the churches of the Church of the East with Mar Yahballaha's permission. In his report he mentions a meeting with the Catholicos; on this occasion, according to Riccoldo, Mar Yahballaha stated that he was not a Nestorian, to the dismay of his bishops in attendance, who rebuked him, accusing him to be a "Frank" – a Latin Christian – and "an adversary of Nestorius" (edition of Riccoldo's Latin *Peregrinatio*: Riccold de Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient. Texte latin et traduction. Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre. Traduction* (ed. René Kappler; Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1997), pp. 152–55. An English translation based on Kappler's edition appeared recently as an appendix to Rita George-Tvrtković, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq. Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) pp. 175–227: 210.

18 These are two letters written by the Catholicos to the pope. The first, dated in Tabrīz, July 1302, was received by Pope Benedict XI; the second, dated in Maragha, May 1304, by Boniface VIII. The letters are written in Arabic, but the greetings, in Mar Yahballaha's own hand, are in Syriac. See Laura Bottini, "Due lettere inedite del patriarca mar Yahbhallaha III (1281–1317)," *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 66/3–4 (1992), pp. 239–56 [+ 2 tavv.].

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> two envious bishops[19] took the opportunity to carry out their wishes: they went before King Aḥmad through the intercession of some Muslims, one of whom was called Shams al-Dīn and was the head of the *dīwān* … and the other was *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The two defamed Mar Yahballaha the Catholicos and Rabban Sauma with false accusations: "In their hearts they favour Arghun, son of Abaqa, and they wrote to the King of Kings, the Qa'an, to complain against you; this accusation has been underwritten by Amir Ashmut" (pp. 21*–22*).

The content of the accusation is specified in the subsequent paragraph: Aḥmad "strayed from the path of his ancestors and became a Hagarene [i.e. a Muslim]" (p. 22*). The author states that Aḥmad "persecuted Christians harshly and favoured Hagarenes, for whom he had an inclination" (p. 21*); consequently,

> he lacked insight because he had strayed from God, and did not consider that the men were possibly acting in their own interests, or wonder what brought them to put forward their accusations, and believed the slanderers' words. He commanded Mar Yahballaha the Catholicos and Rabban Sauma brought to court along with Amir Ashmut, and the decree [previously] issued concerning the house of the Catholicos, as well as the *paiza*, confiscated (p. 22*).[20]

A trial was conducted; the Catholicos defended himself by inviting the judges to check the contents of the letters. The judges sent after the messenger and took back from him all the letters in the vicinity of Khurāsān. Meanwhile, waiting for the letters to come back, the Catholicos spent about forty days in jail.[21]

19 The names of the two bishops are given in the following as Isho'sabran, metropolitan of Tangut, and Simon, bishop of Arni.

20 The decree and the *paiza* granted by the Ilkhan, in addition to the great seal granted by the Great Khan, were marks of authority bestowed on the Catholicos over the Church in his capacity as a state officer. They were accompanied by other minor paraphernalia: a parasol (*chatr*, *sukor*) and a chair (*ṣandali*), repeatedly quoted as gifts from the Ilkhan in the *History* (pp. 20*, 43*, 56*).

21 According to Khwāndmīr, after the reform of postal service promoted by Ghazan, an urgent message from Tabrīz could reach Khurāsān in three to four days, but before this "rationalization" of the system, it took messengers a minimum of six. See Khwandamir, *Habibu's-Siyar.* Tome Three. *The Reign of the Mongols and the Turks.* Part One: *Genghis Khan – Amir Temür*, trans. and ed. by Wheeler M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1994), p. 97. It seems that the Catholicos remained in prison longer than the time required to intercept his correspondence.

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When the documents were opened and read out, nothing was found in them that would justify an accusation. In the end, although Aḥmad "was furious against him … the Catholicos found some mercy before the eyes of the king, and the decree and *paiza* were given back, consoling him and restoring him to his office" (p. 23*).

Notwithstanding the author's statement about Aḥmad's harsh attitude against the Christians, what happened could hardly be considered an episode of persecution against Christians waged by him. The trial was the consequence of an attempt by two prelates to remove Mar Yahballaha from his office. It was an internal matter of the Church, in which senior Muslim officials[22] were instrumental to the plot hatched by the bishops, but not its promotors.[23]

If we compare what the Syriac Orthodox polymath Bar Hebraeus (1225/6–1286) says about Aḥmad in his *Chronography* with the author's description of Aḥmad as a persecutor of Christians, the contradiction is glaring. According to Bar Hebraeus, Aḥmad "looked upon all peoples with a sympathetic eye, and especially upon the heads of the Christian faiths: he wrote for them patents which freed all the churches, and the religious houses, the priests and monks from taxation and imposts in every country and region."[24] Bar Hebraeus' assertion about Aḥmad's behavior deserves to be taken seriously, because in his capacity as *mapryānā* of the Syriac Orthodox Church he was familiar with the Mongols rulers from Hülegü to Arghun. In any case, nothing in the account of the trial given in the *History* could support what its author says about Aḥmad's attitude towards the Christians. Moreover, the question asked by the judges of the Catholicos implies that Ahmad did not undertake any persecutions of the Church:[25] the Catholicos is not persecuted as a Christian but accused of

22 Both Shams al-Dīn (Juwaynī, brother of the historian) and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān are well-known in contemporary historical writing about the Ilkhans. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān led Aḥmad's second embassy to Egypt; considerable ascendancy over the Khan is attributed to him, due in particular to his knowledge of magic and alchemy.

23 This was apparently the opinion of Mar Yahballaha himself. When Arghun had come to power, he had resolved to put the two bishops to death, but Mar Yahballaha objected, saying that the Church had its own laws and for them death was not a suitable penalty: they should instead be deprived forever of their rank (p. 24*). It is possible to see in this objection not only a merciful attitude on the part of Mar Yahballaha, but also his desire to keep the matter within the Church's criminal jurisdiction.

24 *Maktbānut zabnē men rīshā da-britā ʿdammā la-shnat 1285 m. d-sim l-yaduʿtānā rabbā mār Grigoriyos Yuḥannān mapryānā mshabḥā d-madnḥā d-metdallal bar ʿebrāyā / The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, ed. Julius Y. Çiçek (Barhebraeus Verlag: Glane-Losser, 1987), p. 496.

25 "What evil did you see in the king, which led you to behave unfairly towards him and send an accusation to the king of kings, the Qa'an, saying that he strayed from the path of his ancestors and became a Hagarene?" (p. 22*).

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betrayal – he is a state officer, holder of a "decree[26] and *paiza*," and owes his ruler loyalty.

It is important to consider who Mar Yahballaha's two associates in the trial are, and what they have in common. We know Rabban Sawma, mentor of the Catholicos; about Amir Ashmut, whom the *History* mentions only in this connection, the author says that at that time he "was governor of the city of Mosul and its district; he had been a monk and an ascetic" (p. 22*). More details are supplied by Bar Hebraeus: Ashmut arrived about 1275/6 in the Ilkhanid territory from China. He was an envoy of the Qa'an who accompanied a Christian merchant on his road back home from the Great Khan's court. When the merchant passed away in Khurāsān, Ashmut took care of his sons, introducing them to Abaqa who appointed the elder governor of Mosul and Erbil with Ashmut as his *atabeg*. He was, according to Bar Hebraeus, a nobleman and a monk of Uyghur lineage,[27] that is, in Bar Hebraeus's opinion, of the same stock of Sawma and Marcos, whom he calls the "two Uyghur monks."[28] Bar Hebraeus ascribes an important role to Ashmut in the election of Yahballaha as Catholicos;[29] similarly, the *Book of the Tower*, an Arabic chronicle of the Church of the East, associates him with Mar Yahballaha when he received confirmation of his election from Abaqa.[30]

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26 Syriac *puqdānā*, a translation of the Turkic *yarligh*.

27 *Maktbānut zabnē*, p. 484; the merchant's name was Aʿlām al-Dīn Yaʿqūb, from the village of Barqawṭa, in the Erbil district. "Masʿūd al-Barqawṭī" is mentioned also by al-ʿUmarī as the Christian governor of Mosul (É. Quatremère, "Notice de l'ouvrage qui a pour titre: *Mesalek Alabsar fi Memalek Alamsar*. Voyages des yeux dans les royaumes des différentes contrées (manuscrit arabe de la Bibliothèque du roi," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques*, 13 (1838), pp. 151–384: 321). See also B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran. Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), p. 293.

28 *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum* III, eds. Joannes Baptista Abbeloos and Thomas Josephus Lamy, (Parisiis-Lovanii: Apud Maisonneuve et C.ie – Excudebat Car. Peeters, 1877), coll. 451–53.

29 "Amir Ashmut, who was of the same stock as them, spoke about Yahballaha to the king of kings [Abaqa], saying that the Christians were eager to elect him as their Catholicos because on account to his closeness to the Mongols by stock and language, they could get help from him. On his intervention, a royal decree was issued, ordering him be elected Catholicos" (*Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum* III, coll. 451–54).

30 An Arabic chronicle of the Patriarchs of the Church of the East entitled *Book of the Tower* was written in the twelfth century by Mari b. Sulayman. Two centuries after, Amr b. Matta wrote a work bearing the same title, updating and summarizing Mari's chronicle; Amr's chronicle in its turn was updated and elaborated by Ṣlibā b. Yuḥannā. See *Maris Amri et Slibae de patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria* ex codicibus vaticani edidit et latine reddidit Henricus Gismondi (Romae, Excudebat F. De Luigi, 1897), pp. 122–26. An

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Thus the three defendants in the trial had a great deal in common: they were all from China, of the same race and the same religion.[31] Moreover, they share the date of their arrival in the Ilkhanid dominion,[32] and have some relationship with the Qa'an's court. Such connections for Marcos/Yahballaha and Sawma do not emerge in the *History*, but according to the *Book of the Tower* the two monks left China in the service of the Great Khan, who had given them a garment which they were to plunge into the river Jordan.[33]

However, the *History*'s narrative itself testifies to a connection of the Catholicos and his associates with the Great Khan's court: apparently Mar Yahballaha was allowed to use the state courier (*jam*), as any officer of the Mongol state, and he indeed had sent letters to the Qa'an: the argument was about their contents, not about their existence. These circumstances strongly support the possibility that the two pilgrims were in fact envoys of the Qa'an, although the *History* never presents them in that role.[34] To the question, why the head of the Church of the East corresponded with the Great Khan's court, we may reply only by conjecture. Since the Church of the East was spread all over the territory under Mongol rule, some religious-political activity that

English translation of the chapter devoted to Mar Yahballaha is found in *The History of Yaballaha III*, ed. Montgomery, pp. 20–23.

31 As for the common stock, Bar Hebraeus says they were Uyghur. There are nevertheless very good reasons to suggest that Marcos/Yahballaha at least was an Önggüd (see *Storia di Mar Yahballaha e di Rabban Sauma*, 2009, p. 135). As for religion, Bar Hebraeus never explicitly single out Ashmut as a Christian, only a "monk" and an "ascetic" – anyway, Christianity seems to fit better in the context of the evidence than, for instance, Buddhism.

32 In 1310, Mar Yahballalha mentions that he came from China "thirty-five years ago" (p. 75*), which gives 1275 as the year of his arrival. Allowing for some imprecision in both sources, the date seems compatible with the one given by Barhebraeus for Ashmut's arrival, 1275/6.

33 Barhebraeus does say in his *Ecclesiastical Chronicle* that "when Mar Denḥa was still alive, two Uyghur monks came from China *by order of the Great Khan Qubilai*, to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem" (*Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum* III, coll. 451–54), but the italicized sentence is absent in the oldest Ms. of the *Ecclesiastical Chronicle* (Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. Syr. 166 – written before 1356/7 – f. 411v), and also in Ms. London, British library, Add. 7198 – sixteenth century). The sentence cannot be considered original, as it could have been added by a copyist – there are other cases in which Ms. Vat. Syr. 166 provides a text closer to the original in comparison with more recent Mss. of Barhebraeus' chronicles.

34 We may add that while the *History* relates that at the time of their arrival from China Rabban Marcos and Rabban Sawma first met the Catholicos Mar Denḥa and only sometime later visited Abaqa at Mar Denḥa's order (p. 16*), the exact opposite is related by the *Book of the Tower*, where a visit to Abaqa's *ordo* is mentioned before the meeting with Mar Denḥa. It would fit the duties of envoys better to report to the Ilkhan first.

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involved that kind of correspondence should be expected.[35] Moreover, if the three were indeed envoys of the Qa'an, they probably also acted as informants for their sender. It is remarkable that the alleged contents of the letters sent by the Catholicos recall the accusations that according to Bar Hebraeus, Arghun publicly heralded to justify Aḥmad's removal from the throne.[36] This was a *leitmotiv* of Arghun's party, and the slanderers could not have chosen a more credible accusation.

2 The Siege of Erbil

The second instance we are going to consider is the siege of the citadel of Erbil, corresponding to Parts V and VI of our division of the *History*, that is, a substantial portion of it. Contrary to the first instance, which known only from the *History*, for the siege of Erbil we have information for comparison in some paragraphs of Qāshānī's *History of Öljeitü*.[37]

35 The great golden seal, a sign of authority for the Catholicos of the Church of the East, had been granted by Möngke; two red impressions of it are preserved on the letters sent by Mar Yahballaha to the Catholic pope in 1302 and 1304 (see note 18). On the basis of the said impressions, its Turkic text in Syriac script has been published twice: James Hamilton, "Le texte turc en caractères syriaques du grand sceau cruciforme de mar Yahballaha III," *Journal Asiatique*, 260 (1972): pp. 155–170; Igor de Rachewiltz and Volker Rybatzki, *Introduction to Altaic Philology. Turkic, Mongolian, Manchu* (Leiden-Boston: E. J. Brill, 2010), pp. 107–14. According to the *History*, another silver seal had been bestowed upon the Catholicos by Arghun. Both seals were stolen in the looting of the Catholicos' residence in Maragha, September 1295 (p. 51*). The impressions on the letters are from a replacement seal issued by Ghazan in 1298, probably in Tabrīz. According to the *History*, it was "similar to the large one that had been stolen … with the same inscription" (p. 56*).

36 "In the month of Kanon the second [January] of the same year [1284] Arghun, King of Kings, sent *yarligh*s to all countries, saying: 'Inasmuch as Aḥmad strayed from the laws of our fathers, and trod the path of Islam, which our fathers did not know, all the princes agreed on evicting him from the kingdom, and sending him to the Qa'an, our Great Father, that he might judge him'" (*Chronography*, 1987, p. 505).

37 Qāshānī/Hambly, pp. 113–15. I owe my knowledge of this source to Thomas T. Allsen, who, by pointing out the presence of the word *qayajiān* in Qashani's work, allowed us to find his narrative about Erbil. We wrongly said in our commentary (2000 and 2009) that only the Syriac *History* mentioned the events related to Erbil; we are now happy to correct ourselves, here and in the forthcoming, updated English translation of our book.

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Christian presence in Erbil dated back to the fourth century.[38] In the thirteenth–fourteenth century both Syriac Churches were represented in Erbil, and there were four churches in the lower town: two pertaining to the Church of the East and one to the Syriac Orthodox Church.[39] The fourth one, mentioned only in the *History*, was that of the Armenians. Another (Eastern) church was in the citadel, and the Catholicos frequently resided in Erbil.

According to the *History*, troubles started in Erbil in 1297. The incident that triggered the latent hostility between Christians and Muslims was provoked by "Christian soldiers quartered in the citadel," called *qayajiyē*: they shot arrows at a group of Muslim Kurds, killing an eminent person among them (p. 53*). Mobs of Muslims inhabitants of the city targeting Christians followed, which developed into an actual siege of the citadel, to which Kurds from the surroundings also participated. The turmoil lasted several months, from February until September 1297.

The *History* relates that the riots in Erbil were seen at the court as dangerous for the state, so that Ghazan sent two of his ministers to Mar Yahballaha, "*khwajā* Rashīd al-Dīn and the Amir Tarmadad," to inquire with the Catholicos and suggest a solution: to evacuate all Christians from the citadel, give them "land, water and homes, and protect them from all those who might harm them … exempting them from all tax burdens … Because hostility between the two religions, the Muslims and the Syriacs, has increased; if things were to continue this way, great damage would ensue for the kingdom and others would cause trouble, if we let them do as they please. What, then, does the Catholicos say of this plan and the means of its implementation?" (p. 54*). Ghazan's suggestion appears quite favourable to the Christians. Indeed, the author emphasizes that notwithstanding the fact that "several murders had taken place, and robberies impossible to relate, and many from among the Muslim also had perished by the sword," "God had made sure that the Christians found mercy in the king's eyes. He realized that they were afflicted and, even though he had strayed from the path of his fathers and had adhered to a religion that

38 See J.-M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne. Contribution à l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclesiastiques et monastiques du Nord de l'Iraq*. I, (Beyrouth: Imprimerie catholique, 1965), pp. 39–97.

39 This church was a recent one, because it had been built by the Syriac Orthodox people who took refuge in the city escaping from Mosul, assaulted by the Mongols, in 1262. The East Syriac metropolitan of Erbil, Mar Denḥa, allowed them to build their own church, thus challenging the authority of the then Catholicos, Mar Makkika, who had forbidden them from constructing it. See Barhebraeus' narrative in his *Ecclesiastical Chronicle* (*Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum* III, coll. 429–31).

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makes one's soul cruel,[40] he did not change his benevolent attitude towards them" (p. 54*). Ghazan proved even more magnanimous, because when Mar Yahballaha objected to the sovereign's proposal, reminding him that after the destruction of the churches in Baghdād, Marāgha, Tabrīz and Hamadan in 1275, only Erbil's churches and residence were then left to him, the sovereign allowed the Christians to remain in the citadel.

Eventually both sides had to pay dearly for the peace imposed by the government.[41] The author does not excuse the Christian *qayajiyē* who triggered the revolt,[42] but at the same time he sees at the origin of the riots a latent hatred against Christians on the part of the Muslim population, and above all hostility on the part of some high officials, both at the court and in the city. They were to find another opportunity to take the citadel and expel the Christians in 1310. On the pretext of a complaint by some of the *qayajiyē* against their amir, a certain Zayn al-Dīn Balu, who had allegedly appropriated their wage,

> a wretch and evil-natured Muslim, called Naṣr … entered the citadel, installed himself in a tower near the gate, and never came out again; he had arms, ammunition and soldiers taken there in secrecy; meanwhile, he had sent word to the *ordo* that these were *yaghi* (that is, enemies of the king), because their Amir was held in custody. The citadel's inhabitants, the more he acted in this manner, the more openly they demonstrated their malice. But they could not harm him at all, because all the Muslim people were on his side, save for just few, and he was backed by the gold of the entire Muslim faction (p. 66*).

Naṣr is supported by his brother Ḥajji Dilqandi and by *Shaykh* Maḥmud, Erbil's governor. Thus, he begins playing a military and diplomatic game, to show the court that the Christians are rebels against the king, and Mar Yahballaha has

40 Ghazan had publicly uttered his profession of Muslim faith before ascending the throne. Another public ceremony took place on 2 November, 1297.

41 As for the Christians, "the Catholicos … had to disburse 10,000 dinars, not including the sum paid by the residence to the Amir who had helped them, that is, 15,000 more dinars" (p. 55*). The Muslims, for their part, are frustrated because of their failed effort to expel the Christians and the *qayajiyē* from the citadel.

42 "Truth demands it be told that the inhabitants of the citadel … were hard-hearted and had undoubtedly abandoned the path of Christianity: they profoundly despised divine laws, mocked the cloistered monks and the priests, and acted arrogantly towards one another … In fact, hatred had grown in them and rancour had taken hold of their hearts; they accused, mistreated and beat each other; persecuted, robbed and hated each other … in short, they had given free rein to all sorts of mischief" (pp. 65–66*).

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a part in the revolt. Amir Sutai, governor of Diyār Bakr, acts as a mediator between the two parties, at times impartial or sympathetic with the Catholicos, but in the end, Naṣr manages with ruse to obtain the approval of the majority of the amirs at the court, and by consequence a decree of expulsion for the Christians. However, those who accept to exit the citadel are slaughtered without mercy or captured and sold as slaves. The survivors are killed when the Muslims enter the citadel. Mar Yahballaha is safe because he previously left the citadel, on Sutai's order.

This is a terse summary of the long narrative of the *History* about the siege of Erbil's citadel in 1310. The report contains details – included critical judgements about the behaviour of Mar Yahballaha – that only somebody directly involved in the events could know. Several agencies mentioned by the author are well-known characters in Ilkhanid history: Amir Choban, among others, plays a role in the narrative, as a possible advocate of the Christians at the *ordo*, while Toghan helps Naṣr and his associates in the plot.

Before comparing the narrative of the *History* with Qāshānī's, we need to clarify who the *qayajiyē* are.[43] The word is a Turkic one, to which the Syriac plural masculine suffix *-yē* is added. The author of the *History* employs as a Syriac synonym *ṭūrāyē* "mountaineers" and explains *qayajiyē* as "those who walk on the highest peaks." The same occurs in Persian, were a plural ending *-ān* may be added to the Turkic word – and the word receives an explanation which perfectly corresponds to the Syriac one, as we see in the paragraph devoted to the "Bäkrin/Mäkrin"[44] people by Rashīd al-Dīn:

43 We summarize here the argument developed in P. G. Borbone, "Syroturcica 3. Hulegu's rock-climbers: A short-lived Turkic word in 13th–14th century Syriac historical writing," in *Studies in Turkic Philology. Festschrift in honour of the 80th birthday of Professor Geng Shimin,* edited by Zhang Dingjing and Abdurishid Yakup (Beijing: Minzu University Press, 2009), pp. 290–298. Only after our paper had appeared did we become aware of Qāshānī's reference: it escaped the attention of Doerfer (G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Bd. III: *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen.* ğim *bis* kaf. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1997), pp. 565–66) but not that of Thomas T. Allsen (albeit disguised as قياحيان in the Persian edition), who kindly pointed it out to us (e-mail, 4 July 2011).

44 Rashīd al-Dīn's statement in the very beginning of his account about the Märkit introduces further complications: "if some Mongols call them Mäkrit, the two words [Mäkrit and Märkit] mean the same thing, just as the Bäkrin tribe is also called Käbrin." See RD/Thackston, p. 52. See Borbone, "Syroturcica 3," p. 288.

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> Their dwelling place is in the rugged mountains of the province of Uyghuristan. They are neither Mongols nor Uyghurs. Because they dwell in inaccessible mountains they travel well in mountainous terrain and are all mountain climbers (*hama qayājī bāshand*) […]. There was a contingent (*ṭayifa*) from this tribe with Hülegü Khan, and in this realm they are renowned as climbers and mountaineers (*wa darīn mulk baqayājī wa kūh ravī mansūb budand*).[45]

The word occurs only in thirteenth–fourteenth century historiography, in Syriac (the *History* and the first continuator of Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*) and in Persian (Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* and Qāshānī's *History of Öljeitü*). That the *qayajiyē*/*qayajiān* were Christians is explicitly stated by the two Syriac sources. Qāshānī's narrative seems to imply they were, when it states that the people in the citadel were Christians, while in the lower town Muslims were the majority. Additional evidence could perhaps be derived from Syriac sources: Bar Hebraeus relates in his *Chronography* that in 1274 the Christians of the city of Erbil summoned to their help "some Tatars who were Christian and who were nearby."[46] These "Tatars" share relevant characters with the *qayajiyē*: quarters in the vicinity of Erbil, religion, equipment.[47]

Coming now to the narrative about Erbil in Qāshānī, it confirms the line of the events found in the *History*: a first outburst of hostility and violence, followed by reconciliation, roughly dated by Qāshānī during Amir Mulai's governorship of Diyār Rabīʿa. Later on, when Öljeitü bestowed the *kotwālī* of the citadel upon Naṣr Dilqandi, who settled in a tower at the gate of the fortress,

45 RD/Romaskevich, pp. 343, 345.

46 The episode deserves to be related in full: "And in those days [1274] when the Christians of the city of Erbil wished to celebrate Palm Sunday, and knowing that the Muslims were getting ready to obstruct them, they sent and summoned to their help certain Tatars who were Christian and who were nearby. And when they came they placed crosses on the heads of their spears, and the Metropolitan of the Nestorians, together with all his people, sallied forth with those Tatars riding ahead of them. And when they approached the front of the fortress, the companies of Muslims grouped themselves together, and they were carrying stones, and they threw stones at the Tatars and the Christians, and their companies were scattered and each of the Christians fled to one side; and after this they remained (still) for a few days without daring to go forth. And this also afflicted the Christians in every place" (*Maktbānut zabnē / The Chronography*, 1987, p. 478). Such identification was already proposed by J.-M. Fiey: *Assyrie chrétienne*. 1965, pp. 83–84, although Fiey understands the word *qayajiyē* simply as "'troglodytes,' montagnard mercenaires."

47 Although specialized in mountain warfare, they employ horses, as do the *qayajiyē* mentioned by the continuator of Bar Hebraeus.

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the onset of "continuous violence, aggression and battle." The episode of the fire kindled by the Christians under the tower where Naṣr had installed himself, reported also in the *History*, is related with more details: "With wood and dung the Christians lit a fire under the tower, so that the water reserves boiled, the whole tower became an oven and collapsed. The [Muslim] population of Erbil rushed to the cries of Naṣr and his companions and saved them but one, who perished in the fire." Other anecdotes are found only in Qāshānī, as a story about a dog employed by the besieged Christians to send and receive messages secretly.

The two sources concur in attributing the responsibility for what happened in Erbil to the behavior of the *qayajiyē*. Qāshānī's report is shorter, being also devoid of theological explanations or factual apologies about Erbil Christians' fate, while the author of the *History* is constrained to find a reason why God "abandoned" them, and an explanation for the behaviour of the Catholicos and the metropolitan of Erbil, who failed to save their people. A royal decree giving Naṣr the *kotwālī* of the citadel is not expressly mentioned by the *History*, where his arrival is said to be a consequence of the removal of the Amir of the *qayajiyē*, who was jailed after his troops denounced him to the king.[48] Another, perhaps more important, gap in the *History*'s report is filled at the beginning of the narrative by Qāshānī, who informs us of when and why the *kotwālī* of the citadel had been given to the *qayajiyē*:

> When the government came to our righteous Khan, one day a troop of *qayajiān* played in the presence of Abaqa, showing their agility and dexterity – they used to travel on inaccessible heights and rugged mountains – so that approval came in the sight of the noble monarch, who was benevolent towards them. He asked: 'What is your expectation and demand?' They said: 'We want the *kotwālī* of the fortress of Erbil.' He instantly gave the *qayajiān* the *kotwālī* of the fortress of Erbil.

If our identification of the "Christian Tatars" mentioned by Bar Hebraeus in 1274 is correct, the *kotwālī* should have been given to the *qayajiān* after 1274 and before April 1281. Just after this story, Qāshānī proceeds to report that

48 The *History* alludes to some connection between Zayn al-Dīn Balu and Choban, but it has so far proved impossible to find out more. According to the author, the metropolitan of Erbil (who, as mentioned, might well *be* the author) told Choban during their audience at the *ordo* while the siege of the citadel was ongoing: "'We incurred all these misfortunes because of you.' Indeed, Choban was a relation to the amir of the *qayajiyē*, whose name was Balu."

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"they, with a troop of Kurds, raged along the streets, and put hand to robbery, road blocks, destruction, evil and corruption," in full agreement with what we know about the misdeeds of the *qayajiyē* from the *History* and Bar Hebraeus' continuator.

Other aspects of the *History* deserve more in-depth study, as for instance the policy of funding the Church, which seems to be to a certain extent assimilated to *waqf* regulations, but the space allowed for our contribution does not allow us to continue here. We hope to have correctly highlighted at least some reasons why the *History* deserves attention outside the field of Syriac studies.

Appendix: Chronology of the *History of Mar Yahballaha and Rabban Sawma*

No dates are mentioned in the *History* before the year of the election of Mar Yahballaha as Catholicos (AG 1593 = AD 1281). The next one comes only after the return of the embassy Arghun sent to Europe. Before that, the events are related outside any chronological frame. From this point on, the narrative is framed by a chronology which becomes continuous and precise.

The chronological indications are in most cases related to meetings of the Catholicos and the king, and to the building activities of the Catholicos. As for Ghazan's reign, a comparison with Rashid al-Dīn's narrative shows agreements with the dates as well as the places mentioned by the *History*. The Catholicos lived a nomadic life: we see him following the *ordo*. Proximity to the court is of the utmost importance for the care of the affairs of the Church, often related to the problem of the poll tax (monks and priests were at times exempted). In the descriptions of the audiences granted by the sovereign to the Catholicos, we recognize Mongol court etiquette: the offer of the cup and gifts of precious clothes play an important role.

All the years listed are explicitly indicated in the text. We quote them as they are mentioned in the *History*, according to the Seleucid reckoning ("Year of the Greeks" = AG), the most common in the Syriac milieu. Syriac months are quoted. The corresponding AD and month of the Gregorian calendar are mentioned. When mentioned in the *History*, the antiphons of the Sunday, which serve as a dating, are also given.[49]

49 For a complete list of the antiphons (*ʿonyātā*) according to the liturgy of the Church of the East, see P. K. Kokovcov, "K siro-tureckoj epigrafike Semireč'ja," *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*, (1909), pp. 791–94 and N. V. Pigulevskaja, "Katalog sirijskikh rukopisej Leningrada," *Palestinskij Sbornik*, 6/69 (1960), pp. 3–230: 56–63.

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AG 1593

Tishri ḥray, Sunday "*quddash ʿedtā*" [= AD 1281, November]: Mar Yahballaha becomes Catholicos of the Church of the East.

AG 1599

[= AD 1288, September]: Arghun summons the Catholicos to the court and establishes a church in the *ordo*.

AG 1600

Ab [= AD 1289, August]: Baptism of the son of Arghun.

Ilul [= AD 1289, September]: Arghun visits the Catholicos in Marāgha. His baptized son accompanies him.

AG 1602

Ab [= AD 1291, August]: Beginning of Gaikhatu's reign.

Middle of *Ab* [= AD 1291, 15 August]: Gaikhatu enters the church at the *ordo* in Ala-Tagh while the Catholicos celebrates the mass.

AG 1603

summer [= AD 1292, summer]: Gaikhatu visits the monastery in Marāgha twice; he gives to the Catholicos a golden *paiza* "called *sunqur*" and 7000 dinars.

AG 1605

Tishri qdim [= AD 1294, October]: After completion of the construction of the church of St. George in Marāgha, Rabban Sawma joins the Catholicos in Baghdād; they attend a banquet offered by Baidu in "Sirzur."

10 *Kanun ḥray*, Sunday "*l-ʿedtak luqdam*" [= AD 1294, January]: Rabban Sawma passes away.

Easter [= AD 1294, 18 April]: The Catholicos sets off to the *ordo* in Ala-Tagh, where he meets Gaikhatu and receives princely gifts from him. After the visit, the Catholicos lays the foundations of a monastery near Marāgha, dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

End of *Ḥziran* [= AD 1294, end of June]: The Catholicos oversees the building of the monastery; the walls and the main structures are nearing completion.

AG 1606

winter [= AD 1295]: Violent end of Gaikhatu's reign; Baidu is elected and reigns only for a short time: "from about 24 *Nisan* to 25 *Ilul*" (24 April to 25 September 1295).

25 *Ilul*, Sunday "*d-lā mṣē pummā*" [= AD 1295, September]: News spread of Baidu's defeat; a persecution of Christians follows.

27 *Ilul* [= AD 1295, September]: The Catholicos is kidnapped and tortured in Marāgha. The king of Armenia, who is visiting the Ilkhan in Marāgha, saves the Catholicos. Disguised as one of his servants, he follows the king in Tabrīz. Here the Armenian king introduces the Catholicos to Ghazan.

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AG 1607

after Christmas, Sunday "*mārēkul kad ba-dmutā*" [= AD 1296, January]: Envoys from Nawrūz demand the Catholicos give back 10.000 dinars he received from Gaikhatu; persecutions follow.

Easter [= AD 1296, 25 March]: End of persecutions by Nawrūz.

Tammuz, "which that year corresponded to Ramadan" [= AD 1296 July]: The Catholicos leaves Marāgha heading to Ujan, to pay homage to Ghazan.

AG 1608

winter [= AD 1296/7]: Ghazan spends the winter in Baghdād, while the Catholicos stays in Marāgha.

Lent, Wednesday after Sunday "*taw nawdē wa-nshabbaḥ*" [= AD 1297, Lent]: uprising of the Muslim citizens in Marāgha; they plunder the churches and try to destroy them. The Catholicos and his bishops escape thanks to the "Christian queen Burgasin Argi," who hides them in her *ordo*.

Five days later [= AD 1297, Lent]: The Catholicos leaves to "Jaghatu," and then travels to Siyāh-Kūh, with the *ordo* of the Mongol queen who saved him. Afterwards he meets Ghazan near Hamadan.

Lent, Sunday "*ainaw asyā*" [= AD 1297, Lent]: by Ghazan's order, the wives and sons of Nawrūz are killed. The *qayajiyē* who garrison Erbil provoke an incident that triggers the hostility of Muslims and Kurds against the Christian population. The Muslims begin a siege of the citadel.

From the "Rogation of the Ninivites" to the "celebration of the Holy Cross" [= AD 1297, from 10 February to 14 September]: for about seven months Muslims, Mongol troops and Kurds besiege the Christians in the citadel of Erbil. The reciprocal hostility arises deep concern at the court.

25 *Ab* [= AD 1297, August]: news announcing the execution of Nawrūz reach Ghazan in "Sharb-khanah," near Ala-Tagh. The Catholicos is sojourning at the *ordo* in Ala-Tagh, when "*khwajā* Rashīd al-Dīn and the Amir Tarmadad," by Ghazan's order, ask his opinion about an agreement to cease the hostilities between Christians and Muslims in Erbil. He entreats Ghazan to change his mind about it, and obtains a more favourable decree: the citadel will remain to the Christians.

14 *Ilul* (celebration of the Holy Cross) [= AD 1297, 14 September]: Envoys from the *ordo*, accompanied by a bishop, reach Erbil and settle the matter: the citadel is delivered from siege, and Muslim and Christian leaders sign documents of reconciliation.

AG 1609

winter–summer [= AD 1297–1298, winter–summer]: The Catholicos winters with Ghazan in Mughan, then travels with the *ordo* to Tabrīz to spend the summer there.

AG 1610

winter [= AD 1298–1299, winter]: The Catholicos winters in Erbil.

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Nisan [= AD 1299, April]: The Catholicos joins Ghazan in his summer camp, at Ujan. Ghazan orders him to go to Marāgha, where the Catholicos spends the summer.

AG 1611

Tishri qdim [= AD 1299, October]: The Catholicos reaches Ghazan in the "region of Erbil and Mosul"; the Ilkhan is determined to invade "Palestine and Syria."

Ilul [= AD 1300, September]: Ghazan meets the Catholicos in Marāgha, where the Ilkhan stays for three days in the monastery of St. John the Baptist.

AG 1612

winter [= AD 1300–1301]: The Catholicos accompanies Ghazan, on his way to the "region of Erbil and Mosul," up to Sinjār, then winters in Erbil. Upon Ghazan's return, the Catholicos travels with him to Marāgha.

13 *Ilul* celebration of the Holy Cross [= AD 1301, September]: the building of the monastery of St. John the Baptist is completed; the Catholicos consecrates the church.

AG 1613

Tishri qdim [= AD 1301, October]: The Catholicos visits Ghazan, who has come back from Ujan. In a most cordial meeting, the Catholicos receives many gifts, and the Ilkhan bestows upon him a *paiza* and precious royal garments.

AG 1614

[= AD 1302–1303]: The Catholicos returns to Erbil (probably after a long stay at the *ordo*); then, the Friday after Christmas, he heads for Baghdād, having heard that the Ilkhan decided to visit the region. About twenty days later, the Catholicos meets Ghazan near Ḥilla, on the day of the Mongol New Year.

July 1302: In Tabrīz the Catholicos signs a letter to the Pope.

10 *Nisan* [= AD 1303, April]: The Catholicos leaves Baghdād heading for Marāgha, where he arrives the 13 *Iyyar* [May]. On 10 *Ḥziran* [June] Ghazan visits the monastery of St. John the Baptist, where he spends the night. On 20 *Ḥziran* and again in *ab* [August], Ghazan sends valuable gifts to the Catholicos.

AG 1615

Tishri ḥray [= AD 1303, November]: The Catholicos leaves Marāgha heading for Erbil, to winter in the citadel. Ghazan is in Tabrīz.

after Easter [= AD 1304, 29 March]: in Erbil, the Catholicos receives the "great amir, to whom the administration of Diyār Bakr was entrusted" (Najm al-Dīn, known as Malik Manṣūr). The amir accompanies him to Marāgha, where he arrives on Pentecost. Five days later he receives sad news: on Pentecost Sunday Ghazan passed away.

May 1304: In Marāgha the Catholicos signs a letter to the Pope.

12 *Tammuz* [= AD 1304, July]: Öljeitü is elected as successor to Ghazan.

AG 1616

winter [= AD 1304–1305]: The Catholicos winters in Ushnū.

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AG 1617

Tishri ḥray [= AD 1305, November]: The Catholicos reaches Erbil to winter there; he lays the foundations of a residence "built of lime and stone, which he completed and beautifully decorated."

Iyyar [= AD 1306, May]: The Catholicos travels to Marāgha to spend the summer there. Öljeitü receives him, but that does not yield an exemption of the Syriac clergy from the poll tax.

AG 1618

winter [= AD 1306–1307], to AG 1619, winter [= AD 1307–1308]: The Catholicos remains in Erbil for a long time, due to lack of means.

AG 1619

Iyyar [= AD 1308, May]: The Catholicos meets Öljeitü in Azerbaijan (Ujan).

AG 1620

[= AD 1308–1309]: The Catholicos spends the winter and summer in Marāgha. Öljeitü visits the monastery (in Marāgha); the Catholicos meets him in Tabrīz, and the king issues a favourable decree: the income of taxation of Erbil is bestowed upon the Catholicos and the poll tax will no longer be levied from Christian subjects.

AG 1621

Tishri ḥray [= AD 1309, November]: The Catholicos falls ill during a journey to Erbil.

Winter [= AD 1309/10]: The king orders the amir of the *qayajiyē* of Erbil, Zayn al-Dīn Balu, jailed, and sends Amir Nāṣr [al-Dīn] to Erbil, giving him the opportunity to carry off a project started in AG 1608 [= AD 1297]. Nāṣr and his armed men settle in a tower near the gate of the citadel.

9 *Adar* [= AD 1310, March]: Nāṣr's son, accompanied by three officers, forces the Catholicos to leave the citadel and take refuge in Tar'el, a nearby village. Amir Sutai visits him there.

12 *Adar*, Saturday [= AD 1310, March]: A delegation sent to the citadel by Sutai and the Catholicos fails to obtain the surrender of the *qayajiyē*: they must therefore be considered as rebels (*yaghi*).

13–14 *Adar*, Sunday–Monday [= AD 1310, March]: The Catholicos sends a letter to the Christians of the citadel; they accept to surrender, but Nāṣr attacks them from his tower. The Christians light a fire under the tower for the whole night, to prevent Nāṣr from assaulting them.

6 *Iyyar* [= AD 1310, May]: The metropolitan of Erbil goes to Hamadān, and from there to Sulṭāniyya, to meet the Ilkhan. He obtains a favourable decree, thanks to the help of Amir Choban.

26 *Ḥziran* [= AD 1310, June]: Before the arrival of the messenger with the favourable decree, the Catholicos is forced to enter the citadel. He comes back accompanied by several Christians who are willing to surrender, but the Muslims kill almost all of them.

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27 *Ḥziran* [= AD 1310, June]: After the killing of the said Christians, the messenger from the *ordo* and the metropolitan arrive. They disclose the contents of the decree, but it is of little use.

First Wednesday of *Tammuz* [= AD 1310, July]: The Muslims and the Mongol troops enter the citadel; the Christian men are killed (among them, all the *qayajïyē*); women and girls are enslaved.

8 *Tammuz* [= AD 1310, July]: The Catholicos reaches the *ordo*, accompanied by Amir Gaijak. There he meets Choban and the king, but he cannot speak about the events in Erbil, because the king does not ask him about it: both remain silent, though they bid each other a cup. The Catholicos spends a whole month with the *ordo*; during that time, nobody pays attention to him. Thus he decides to go to Marāgha and stay there, saying: "I am wearied of the service with the Mongols."

AG 1622

[= AD 1310–1311]: The Catholicos winters in the monastery of Marāgha. In summer, he meets Amir Irinjin in Tabrīz. The Amir and his wife grant him an allowance.

AG 1623

winter [= AD 1311–1312]: The Catholicos resides in the monastery of Marāgha.

AG 1629

15 *Tishri ḥray* [= AD 1317, November]: The Catholicos passes away.

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CHAPTER 13

Armenian Hagiography on the Ilkhans

Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan

1 Introduction

Armenian hagiographic works, particularly the medieval ones, can often incorporate a valuable record of institutional and local history, as well as evidence of customs and traditions.[1] Hagiography itself constitutes an important literary genre, providing some informational history along with the more inspirational stories or legends. Thus, within the Armenian hagiography a biography of an individual saint (*vita*) and the description of the saint's deeds and miracles that constitutes the saint's martyrdom (*passio*) – or a combination of these two – are valuable sources for the Mongol period as well.[2]

By examining Armenian hagiographies, one finds that the narrative patterns in Eastern Orthodox Christian hagiography, namely Byzantine, Syriac and Armenian hagiography, are very much similar, especially for their accounts of martyrdom, which are divided into three types: *Acta* (accounts of trials and condemnation written for the purpose of spiritual edification), *Passiones* or *Martyria* (description of martyr's life and death by contemporary eyewitnesses) and *Martyr's Legends* (legendary stories and narratives of later time).[3]

The genres of *vita* and *passio* made an important contribution to the development of Armenian style of narration. In addition to this, Armenia's

1 Christian hagiographies focus on the lives, and notably the miracles of men and women who are canonized by the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Communion, the Eastern Orthodox Church, the Oriental Orthodox churches, and the Church of the East.

2 From the 4th century, there were three main types of catalogues of lives of the saints: annual calendar catalogue, or *menaion* (in Greek, μηναῖον, *menaion* means "monthly" (adj, neut), lit. "lunar"), biographies of the saints to be read at sermons; *synaxarion* ("something that collects"; Greek συναξάριον, from σύναξις, *synaxis* i.e. "gathering," "collection," "compilation"), or a short version of lives of the saints, arranged by dates; and *paterikon* ("that of the Fathers"; Greek πατερικόν; in Greek and Latin, *pater* means "father"), or biography of the specific saints, chosen by the catalogue compiler.

3 In Western Europe hagiography was one of the more important vehicles for the study of inspirational history during the Middle Ages. The *Golden Legend* of Jacob de Voragine compiled a great deal of medieval hagiographic material, with a strong emphasis on miracle tales. Lives were often written to promote the cult of local or national states and in particular to develop pilgrimages to visit relics.

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geopolitical situation determined, in part, the diversity in representation of the two genres; thus, while there are some 20 *vita* of Armenian saints, there are over 200 martyrologies stretching from the fifth to the 19th century (that of Yovakim Samat'iac'i at Constantinople in 1843).[4]

My primary interest lies in the connection between hagiography and historiography in Armenian tradition, as legends of saints tend to be substantially different from historical narratives. However, many pages of Armenian historiography, from the beginning of historical writing to the medieval period, are intermingled with hagiographic passages. I would even say that certain moments in Armenian ecclesiastic history under the Ilkhans received their explicit elaboration only in hagiographic works.

2 Scholarship

Before launching into specific examples of our subject it is worth noting that fundamental scholarship on Armenian hagiography began with the Mkhit'arist scholars from 1810, namely with Fr. Mkrtitch Avgerian (1762–1854). During five years, twelve volumes of *The Complete Lives of the Saints Found in the Old Calendar of the Armenian Church* were published.[5] Scholars found particular importance in the twelfth volume, entitled *The Remaining Lives of Saints not found in Our Calendar, Commemorated in the Synaxaries and Lectionaries of the Greeks and the Latins*.[6]

Between 1853 and 1861, twenty-two volumes of anthologies of works including Armenian Hagiography (*Sop'erk' Haykakank'*) published in Venice, and in 1874, two volumes of the *Selection of Lives and Martyrdoms of Saints Abridged from Selected Homilies* were likewise published in Venice.[7] The 'Lives' or *Vitas* of Armenian martyrs from the period 1155–1843, collected by H. Acharyan

4 Similarly, even after the conclusions of the genre's classic period, their influence is still felt on the works of later historians, such as Aṙak'el Dawriżec'i and Zak'aria K'anak'eṙc'i of the 17th century.

5 Mkrtitch Avgerian, ed., *Liakatar vark' ew vkayabanut'iwn srboc', vork' kan i Hin tonac'uc'i ekeghec'woy Hayastaneayc'*, 12 vols. (Venice: No Publisher, 1810–1815).

6 Avgerian, *Liakatar vark' ew vkayabanut'iwn srboc,* vol. 12, *Mnac'ordk' Varuc' srboc' artak'oy tonac'uc'in meroy, yishatakeloc' i Yaysmawwurs kam i Charentirs Hayoc' orpes ew Yunac' ew Latinac'woc'* (Venice: n.p., 1815); Vrej Nerses Nersessian, "Eastern Christian Hagiographic Tradition, Oriental Orthodox: Armenian Hagiography," in *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*, ed. by Ken Parry (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 458–461.

7 Nersessian, "Eastern Christian Hagiographic Tradition," pp. 458–461.

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and H. Manandyan were published in Ējmiačin in 1903 under the title New Armenian Martyrs (*Hayocʻ nor vkanerə*).[8]

Alongside the higher style of rhetorical *Life* composed in medieval Armenia, a more popularizing sub-genre emerged, aiming to simplify the language and structure and give a quick-paced narrative of events, of which the author, as contemporary and often pupil of the biography's subject, was indeed an eyewitness. Some motifs derived from folkloric romance and, in absence of *paraenesis* or advice, accounts of visions and miracles gained greater prominence, as exemplified by the *Lives* of the two scholar monks, Yovhannes Sarkawag (d. 1129) and Tʻovma Mesopʻecʻi (1373/76–1447).

During the 11–12th centuries, the Armenian scribal practice of colophon writing developed into a separate genre, providing another instrument for hagiographic composition, even more focused on personal and vivid sketches of saint's life setting. Some, in fact, were conceived as actual colophons to a copy of the saint's complete works. Most of them were transmitted outside the parameters of the *Menologium*, as illustrated by Mcrtich's *Life of Mxitar Sasnecʻi* and Matteos Jughayecʻi's *Life of Grigor Tatʻewacʻi*, both important *vardapets* (archimandrites) of the 14th–15th centuries. This progression was broadly mirrored by *Passions* up to the 16th century.[9]

The Armenian Synaxarium or *Yaysmawurkʻ*, literally 'On this day' (roughly corresponding to the martyrology of the Roman Church) found in some liturgical books, contains the *lives* or accounts of saints to be read in church on the day of their commemorations and is arranged according to the Armenian year. There are four enlarged editions or redactions of the Synaxary: *Ter Israyel's Synaxary* from the first half of the 13th c. (c. 1240); *Kirakos Ganjakecʻi's Synaxary* (second half of the 13th century; first edition in 1252; second edition in 1269); *Grigor Anawarzecʻi's Synaxary* (the beginning of the 14th c.); and *Grigor Xlatʻecʻi's Synaxary*, composed at the beginning of the 15th century.[10] The relations among these editions are still waiting to be clarified and interpreted.[11]

8 Ghewond M. Alishan, ed., *Varkʻ ew Vkayabanutʻiwnkʻ srbocʻ hatentir kʻaghealkʻ i charentracʻ* (Venetik: Itparani Mkhitʻareants', 1874); H. Acharean and Y. Manandean, *Hayocʻ nor vkanerə (1155–1843)* (Vałarsapat: Tparan Mayr Atʻoroy S. Ējmiatsni, 1903).

9 See Peter Cowe, "Armenian Hagiography" in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography: Volume I: Periods and Places*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis, pp. 299–322 (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011).

10 The Armenian Church does not have a formal ritual for granting sainthood. The last saint accepted into the Armenian Synaxary of the selected period was the scholar and philosopher Grigor Tetʻevacʻi (1346–1409), whose feast day falls on the Saturday before the fourth Sunday in Lent; Nersessian "Eastern Christian Hagiographic Tradition," pp. 458–61.

11 Yeznik Petrossian, "Latin Saints in the Synaxaries of the Armenian Church," in *The Formation of a Millennial Tradition. 1700 Years of Armenian Christian Witness (301–2001)*, ed. R. F. Taft (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2004), p. 8.

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From the 1970s Ter-Davtjan translated into Russian a great deal of hagiographic accounts taken partly from the work of Acharean and Manandean, partly from the *Synaxary* directly, as well as from the lives, deeds and martyrdoms of ecclesiastics and secular individuals and from historical works published in different places at different times. The period covered by Ter-Davtjan's works spans from the 5th to the 19th century.[12]

3 The Mongol Period in Armenian Hagiography

Armenian historians handed down some hagiographic episodes dealing with the Ilkhans and the Mongols. Even if in general, mythological motifs prevail over historical accuracy, the Armenian hagiography still retains more or less precise records of the memory of the past. They aim to present the saints as classical incarnation of virtues by their exemplary lives, martyr death, and miracle-working capacities. Thus, Grigor Aknerc'i narrated the martyrdom of the old father Step'annos, head of the cloister of Geret'i, who was accused of poisoning a Mongol chieftain and was roasted to death in 1251 (Arm 706; 1257 according to Bedrosian).[13]

Kirakos Ganjakec'i describes a martyrdom of the pious prince Jalal, who was imprisoned in 1261 (Arm 710) by the Persians and handed over to Arghun Aqa. Jalal was not able to pay taxes, however the Armenian historian highlighted the strong Christian faith of prince as a reason for his imprisonment.[14] Disregarding the plea of Jalal's daughter Rhuzuk'an, a wife of Bora-noyan, son of the Mongol Noyan and military leader Chormaqan, Arghun Aqa had Jalal killed by tearing his body into pieces. Hülegü's wife Doquz Khatun was not

12 K. S. Ter-Davtjan, *Pamjatniki armjanskoi agiografii* (Erevan: Academy of Sciences Press, 1973); Idem, *Armjanskie žitija i mučeničestva V–XVII vv.* (Erevan, Nairi, 1994); Idem, *Armjanskie žitija V–XV vv.* (Erevan, Nairi, 1996); Idem, *Novye armjanskie mučeniki* (*1155–1843*) (Erevan, Nairi, 1998). In the Armenian Synaxarium, one can find the Lives of Greek and Latin Saints as well; Nersessian, 'Eastern Christian Hagiographic Tradition," pp. 458–461.

13 Grigor of Akanc', *History of the Nation of the Archers* (*The Mongols*), edited and trans. by R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 326, 328 (Armenian), pp. 327, 329 (English). Ter-Davtjan, *Novye armjanskie mučeniki*, pp. 46–47.

14 Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Hayots' patmut'yun*, ed. K. A. Melik-Ohanjanyan (Erevan: Haykakan KhSH Gitut'yunneri Akademia, 1961), pp. 390–92; cf. also Vardan Arewelc'i, *Chronicle*, trans. Robert Thomson (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1991), p. 218; Ter-Davtjan, *Novye armjanskie mučeniki*, p. 48.

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able to prevent his death; nonetheless Jalal's body was allowed to be buried in his ancestral cemetery at Ganjasar monastery.[15]

Gēorg Skewṙac'i, an influential commentator, copyist and poet of the second half of the 13th century, student of the conservative scholars Mxit'ar Skewṙac'i and Vardan Arewelc'i, who in turn advanced the cause of anti-Latin faction in the 1290s, is the recipient of two quite contrasting rhetorical *Live*s produced by his pupils. The first one is by Movsēs Erznkac'i marks the beginning of an extended tradition of laments on the death of a *vardapet* in mixed media capable of elevated pathos and restrained emotional profundity.

Historically, the year of 1290 was the year of the anti-Latin faction in the Armenian plateau, and its reflection in Armenian historiography is extensive. However, this year was also a year of composition of *Grigor Baluec'i's Martyrdom*.[16] It was written by the eyewitness, his nephew and disciple David Baluec'i,[17] as the author himself states in his narrative. In the colophon of this *Martyrdom* it is clearly said that it was written in time of Ilkhan Arghun (1284–1291), king Het'um (Het'um II, 1289–93; 1295–97; 1299–1305; joint ruling 1305–07) and the Catholicos Step'annos (presumably Catholicos Step'annos of Hṙomkla, 1289–1291).[18]

The narrative tells that in 1289–1290, the *vardapet* Grigor came to Xarberd/Harput city to give his spiritual directions to the Armenian community, which had previously been lacking cohesion. Xarbanda Aqa, who was perhaps a Persian noble, was then governing the city. During this time, a Mamluk army together with its vassals from Damascus and Aleppo launched a devastating onslaught against the city. The army of Xarbanda lost the battle with the Mamluks and a brother of Xarbanda Aqa was taken to Egypt as captive. In order to collect a ransom for his brother, the magnates of the city summoned people to a certain place; but the roof of the building collapsed killing many of them.

In the ensuing uproar, a group of Muslims killed a dog, hung its carcass at the mosque door and placed its head in the *miḥrāb*, spreading the rumour that

15 Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Hayots' patmut'yun*, ed. K. A. Melik-Ohanjanyan (Erevan: Haykakan KhSH Gitut'yunneri Akademia, 1961), pp. 390–92; cf. also Vardan Arewelc'i, *Chronicle*, trans. Robert Thomson (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1991), p. 218; Ter-Davtjan, *Novye armjanskie mučeniki*, p. 48.

16 *Ter-Davtjan, Pamjatniki armjanskoi agiografii*, pp. 265–74.

17 H. Acharean and Y. Manandean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə* (*1155–1843*) (Vałarsapat: Tparan Mayr At'oroy S. Ējmiatsni, 1903), pp. 104–118; Ter-Davtjan, *Novye armjanskie mučeniki*, pp. 49–55. See H. Acharean, *Hayoc' Anjnanunneri Baṙaran*, vol. I (Beirut: Hratarakutiwn Sewan Hratarakcakan Tan, 1972), pp. 581–82.

18 *Ter-Davtjan, Pamjatniki armjanskoi agiografii*, p. 274.

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Grigor and Armenian community had perpetrated the sacrilege. In retaliation, a Muslim mob entered the Armenian church during the fast of St. Sargis, imprisoning the clergy and 45 magnates. A trial followed and ten *qāḍīs* from the region questioned the *vardapet* through an interpreter, who then deliberately mistranslated Grigor's answers in order to provoke the judges.

In the event, Grigor was stripped to the waist, dragged along the ground, and given 300 lashes on his stomach until his intestines were exposed. Meanwhile the acolytes Simeon and Kirakos were interrogated and pressured to convert. When they refused, they were beaten to death. Next, the *qāḍīs* turned to the 45 Armenian magnates, but a Mongol chief T'at'qara, who arrived on his horseback with an armed force saved them, saying: "You slay such citizens! What shall I answer to the conqueror xan, for I have been sent here by him to take care of this city?"[19] At this, the mob fell on Grigor and stoned him to death after which the executioners cut off his head and set it above the city gate. The following morning, a heavenly light illuminated the place of execution, first observed by mullah who called the faithful people to pray because an innocent man had been tortured. The three bodies were removed by the Armenian community for burial in the neighbouring Jacobite Syrian monastery of Mar Bar Sauma, where many miracles of healing were performed as the author notes.

This hagiographic work presents a fascinating picture of the ethno-religious complexity of the Sultanate of Rum in the late 13th century, which was incorporated to Xarberd region as an Ilkhanid vassal. The main population was Turkic and Muslim, but governed by a Persian administrator. Many Persians settled in Anatolia, especially after the 1220s, escaping the ravages of the Khwarazmians. The name of Xarbanda in this work became the starting point of a series of errors as it was wrongly taken to be the Ilkhan Öljeitü in footnotes and comments by many scholars and even by compilers like Acharean, or Ter-Davtjian, thus bringing on serious confusion from the historical point of view.

Here, the Armenian community is depicted as centred on its church, while the Jacobite Syrian presence is more established, since it had achieved episcopal status in the 11th century and possessed the major religious and cultural centre of Mar Bar Sauma.[20] The intercommunion between the Syrian and Armenian churches was marked in this work by Armenian martyrs' burial place.

19 Idem, pp. 271–73.

20 S. Peter Cowe, "*Martyrology of Grigor Bishop of Karin* (*Erzerum*)" in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 4, (1200–1350), ed. David Thomas, Alexander Mallett (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 621–622.

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The tensions gripping the Xarberd society are mirrored by allusions to the struggles between the main powers of wider region contending for domination of Greater Syria. The Mamluk attack recorded is part of concerted effort by Sultan Qalāwūn to assert the control over region, capturing Tripoli in 1289 and Acre in 1291. Meanwhile the Mongol contingent has been despatched by Ilkhan Arghun to reinforce the city's defences, in order to prevent the enemy's advance.

Although Islam was expanding among the Mongols, the Ilkhanid leadership actively pursued an anti-Mamluk alliance with West European monarchs and the Papacy, sending four embassies there within the previous few years. In addition, the Armenians were apparently benefiting from Mongol rule in Near East, having earlier accepted their suzerainty, and as result, assisted them in achieving their goals. This gave rise to periodic explosions of resentment in various Seljuk centres, such as in the incident of sacrilege presented here.

Another interesting example of a sheer hagiographic account documenting the Ilkhans is the *Martyrdom of Grigor Bishop of Theodosiopolis* (Karin/Erzerum),[21] an anonymous work handed down in a manuscript copied after 1567, although the author seems to have been contemporary with the events he describes.[22] The text narrates that at the time of the rule of the Mongols, when the Muslims became stronger again, persecutions were perpetrated against all Christians, and particularly in the Armenian land:

> As the nation of the Archers converted to the religion of Ismaelites, for the sake of a sensual religion they gave themselves laws: they accepted circumcision and through their service many evils were brought upon the churches of the Christians and they strived to drive the servants of God away from the saintly churches of God. And in many places they plundered and ravaged, and/but Lord Jesus hindered and will hinder the onslaught of the infidels through the power of his (Holy) Spirit. And seizing the Christians, they forced them with bitter torments to abjure the Christian faith, which is in the Father, and the Son and the Most Holy Spirit. They withdrew again and imposed a tax on the Christians, and they took each year seven-eight *dahekan* per head: either abjuring Christ or giving the *dahekan*, that is *xarač*; and those with a strong faith and brave did not submit to their deceitful doctrines, but agreed to pay the tax each year. And our race and the Christians professing Christ bent

21 Acharean and Manandean, *Hayocʻ nor vkanerə*, pp. 121–28; Ter-Davtjan, *Novye armjanskie mučeniki*, pp. 56–60. See Acharean, *Hayocʻ Anjnanunneri Baŕaran*, vol. I, p. 590.

22 Ter-Davtjan, *Novye armjanskie mučeniki*, p. 267.

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> under the yoke of the taxes and they gave their goods joyfully and paid and gave their possessions each year and this tax was collected starting from twelve-year-old children; and many people left the country because of this tax. But the Christians, paying all this, remained strong in the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.'[23]

As one might expect, the narrative frame sheds valuable light on the paradigm change in Ilkhanid religious perspective after the leadership adopted Islam, abandoning their previous toleration of religious pluralism to impose a series of taxes and restrictions on minority communities, from Öljeitü onwards.[24] It treats the anti-Christian activities of Temürtash, a Mongol viceroy of Rum (from 1319) who raided Armenia several times in 1315, 1324, 1327, 1336, and in 1338 respectively that was recorded in the Armenian inscriptions more precisely in commemorative writings. The intrusions were first against Armenian Cilicia at the beginning, and then were redirected against Greater Armenia, burning the cathedral of Eĵmiačin, looting the city and taking much captivity, and pursuing the similar objectives in Kayseri.

> Now, when it was the year 770 of Armenian era [1321], [there was] a certain wicked man from the nation of the Archers, whose name was called Damur Das [Temürtash], that is to say *Erkat'ak'ar* (Iron-stone), and this impious one went to the land of the Hromk' and he saw Cilicia, the land of the Armenians, staying there like an olive branch and left in peace on a small and narrow land beaten by scorching winds and [afflicted] with many tribulations, between two impious nations, the Egyptians and the Arakliac'ik' [the Turks living in region of Heraklea].
>
> And that impious *Erkat'ak'ar* was driven by envy towards the Armenian King for some reason and boastfully meditated to plunder the land and growled like a lion, gathered troops, equipped the cavalry, sent emissaries with deceitful messages, in order to seize the King of the Armenians and to plunder the (this) land. Being aware of the evil intention of that treacherous man, they did not comply with his order, but they strengthened every fortress and stronghold on the rocks and in other impregnable places (*klanis*). And that impious *Erkat'ak'ar* entered the Armenian land with many infantrymen and cavalrymen, and they committed great ravages and set the magnificent church of Eĵmiačin on fire, and half the city together with it. They burnt also the harvest (products) of the land

23 Ter-Davtjan, *Armjanskie žitija i mučeničestva*, p. 350.

24 Cowe, "Martyrology of Grigor Bishop," pp. 974–76.

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> and killed and brought into captivity a lot of men. And leaving that place, they came to Caesarea of Cappadocia and they took the cross of Serax and broke it into pieces, because it was made out of pure gold, and many churchmen of the Greek (Roman) Christians were martyred …[25]

The narrative focuses on the situation in Karin, where the local *qāḍī*, obtaining an order from Temürtash, arrested the Armenian Bishop Grigor and his paternal uncle Tēr Pap, forcibly binding and circumcising the latter and interrogating the former. Displeased at his responses, the *qāḍī* ordered the bishop beaten with iron rods on his chest and back till his bones showed through, then left him on a spot half-dead, at which point the crowd attacked his church dedicated to St. John the Baptist the Precursor, destroying the altar and stealing the holy vessels and Gospel book.

When the bishop refused to accept Islam, the administrator ordered the muscles of his knees to be cut and salt to be applied to his wounds. He remained in prison under the supervision of a Muslim householder for 20 days until the verdict came to kill him by sword. The bishop was duly decapitated; however the appearance of heavenly light on the third night persuaded the administrator to allow the Christians to release the body for burial in the Church of St. John the Precursor. The martyrdom occurred on Tuesday, 29 January, 1321.

This text directs particular attention to the poll tax as being so arduous as to provoke Armenian emigration from Greater Armenia to the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia and to the Crimea, altering the demographics of the region. It also indicates the increasing vulnerabilities of the minorities to arbitrary impediments and unwarranted attack, which was often permitted, if not actually initiated by the leadership.

In this instance, the case of Temürtash of the powerful Chubanid family played a major role in government during the final stage of the Ilkhanate. The text discusses his abortive invasion of Cilicia in 1320, which was probably intended to coordinate with Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Qalāwūn's (r. 1293–94, 1299–1309, 1310–1341) campaign, taking advantage of the death of King Oshin (1307–1320) and the minority of his son Lewon IV (1320–1341), which in turn elicited appeals from Pope John XXII (1316–1334) to both the sultan and Ilkhan Abu Saʿid (1316–1335). It is also likely, that Temürtash's move formed part of his broader pro-Mamluk policy, which informed his revolt in 1322 and his defection to Egypt five years later. Similarly, his burning of the cathedral of Ejmiačin hit at one of the most symbolic cites of the Armenian

25 Ter-Davtjan, *Armjanskie žitija i mučeničestva*, pp. 350–52. Peter Cowe, "Armenian Hagiography," pp. 299–322.

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Church, founded in the early 4th century by St. Gregory the Illuminator who was instrumental in establishing the Christianity as a religion of the court.

Significantly, the text also contrasts the role of *qāḍī* with other official or semi-officials. Thus, the administrator of the city gave permission to bury the martyr, whereas the *qāḍī* demanded a high ransom for the release of the body. Earlier, in the text the householder had wished to show the bishop hospitality while in his care offering him water, but the *qāḍī*'s judgement was peremptory and his petition for an edict appears motivated by the desire to undermine the proper functioning of the local Armenian religious community by neutralising its hierarchy.

To sum up, we have here two examples of Armenian martyrdoms; one is of late 13th century, the other one of early 14th century, thus allowing us to trace the situation of the Armenians in Anatolia under two Ilkhans: Arghun and Öljeitü. Both hagiographies are very explicit illustrations of their time and both represent a further development of the history of Vardan Arewelc'i. Both martyrdoms embody the genres of *vita* and *passio*, making an important contribution not only to the development of Armenian hagiography but also to historiography. The role of the monastery and upper clergy highlight the social-political sphere of Ilkhanid Armenia, incorporating a greater cross-cultural section of the multinational community.

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CHAPTER 14

The Ilkhans in the Byzantine Sources

Dimitri Korobeinikov

In the beautiful church of the Holy Saviour in Chora, later the Kariye Cami mosque, in Constantinople, there is a magnificent mosaic depicting Christ "of the Chalke"[1] and the Virgin between two lower figures. The figure near the Virgin has the rank of *sebastokrator*,[2] as is shown by the type of his crown. The other figure, kneeling in a *proskynesis*[3] at Christ's feet, is an elderly nun, whose inscription describes her as 'the Lady of the Mongols'. As the mosaic is the one of the '*ktetor*-type,'[4] both the *sebastokrator* and the nun were therefore church benefactors. Furthermore, they were distant relatives, as they belonged to the royal Komnenoi dynasty which ruled Byzantium from 1081 and whose branches continued to reign until the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and of Trebizond in 1461. The *sebastokrator* was Isaac Komnenos (1093 to sometime after 1152), the *porphyrogennetos* son[5] of the Emperor Alexios I (1081–1118) and father of Andronikos I (1183–1185) Komnenos. His direct descendants ruled the Empire of Trebizond under the name of the Grand Komnenoi from 1204. From 1256, as a Mongol vassal, the Empire of Trebizond became a 'trade gate' of the Ilkhanid state. Isaac Komnenos, who was in opposition to the Emperor John II (1118–1143), spent fourteen years, from 1122 (or early 1123) to 1136, in exile, travelling across the Sultanate of Rūm, the emirate of the Danişmendoğulları,

1 This is the type of the popular icon on the façade of the Chalke, the main entrance of the vestibule of the Great Palace in Constantinople. This type of quite distinctive image of Christ, full-length on a footstool, was reproduced in many other mosaics, frescoes and so on, including the one in Chora.

2 *Sebastokrator* is a Byzantine court title and rank, third in sequence after the emperor and the co-emperors, (or later the despots). It was usually was bestowed upon emperor's relatives, and in the time of Isaac Komnenos was exclusively granted to emperor's sons.

3 Literally meaning 'prostration,' *proskynesis* referred in Byzantium to a special type of ceremonial reverence, either in the church or in front of the emperor.

4 '*Ktetor*-type' (from *ktetor* 'benefactor') is how modern historians of Byzantine art refer to the strictly standardized images of certain benefactors (i.e. those who laid foundation to, or renovated, the church-building).

5 *Porphyrogennetos* literally means 'the one born in the Porphyra chamber of the Great Palace in Constantinople.' As only the reigning emperor had the right to place his wife in the Porphyra chamber during her birth-time, it designated sons and daughters of the emperor born after his enthronement. The term continued to be in use long after the Great Palace was abandoned, as a symbol of exceptionally noble birth inside the Imperial family.

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Cilician Armenia and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. His son John preferred to settle permanently in the Sultanate of Rūm in 1140, where he turned Muslim and married a daughter of the Sultan Masʿūd I (1116–1155). The post-Byzantine historical tradition claimed that the daughter's name was Kamero and that their male descendants were ancestors of the Ottoman dynasty.[6]

The portrait of the elderly nun requires closer attention. The mosaic, which was created sometime between 1313 and 1320, has an inscription [... Ἀ]νδ[ρον]ίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου ἡ κυρὰ τῶν Μουγουλίων, Μελάνη ἡ μοναχή, '... of Andronikos Palaiologos, the Lady of the Mongols, Melane the nun.' Her secular name must have begun, according to the Byzantine custom, with the same letter 'M'; and her position as a relative of the Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) and the title 'the Lady of the Mongols' suggested either Maria Diplobatatzina, the illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282), the consanguine sister of Andronikos II and wife of the Ilkhan Abaqa (1265–1282), or another Maria, the illegitimate daughter of Andronikos II, who married Toqtā (1291–1312), the Khan of the Golden Horde, sometime in 1297.[7] However, general opinion rules out the latter.[8] There is an extant church document, dated 1351, which mentioned Maria, the sister of Andronikos II, as a founder of the nunnery of Theotokos Panagiotissa or "of the Mongols" (τῶν

6 Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. A. van Dieten (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), pp. 35, l.39 to 36, l.60, 53, ll.44–51; Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii 1401–1477. În anexă Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melissenos, Cronica 1258–1481*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1966), pp. 210, ll.14–19, 210, l.28 to 212, l.4; K. Barzos, *He Genealogia tōn Komnēnōn*, vol. 1, (Thessalonica: Kentron Byzantinōn Ereunōn, 1984), pp. 238–254, 480–485; P. A. Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, vol. 1 (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966–1975), pp. 45–48; *idem*, "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1955–1956," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 12 (1958): pp. 284–7, R. G. Ousterhout, *Architecture of Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1982), pp. 32–36; P. Weiss, *Die Mosaiken des Chora-Klosters in Istanbul* (Stuttgart and Zurich: Belser, 1997), pp. 30–33, 43–44; M. Jeffreys et al. *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (consulted 15.xi.2014) Isaakios 102, Ioannes 25002, Anonyma 25002, <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/109602>, <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/161300>, <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/161302> (hereafter *PBW*). I am indebted to Dr M. E. Martin who read the chapter's draft and offered many corrections to the text and its style.

7 E. Trapp, R. Walter, and H.-V. Beyer, eds. *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–2000), N 21395, 92632 (hereafter *PLP*); Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, vol. 1, pp. 46–47; *idem*, "Notes on the Work," pp. 286–87.

8 N. Teteriatnikov, "Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Program of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople," *Cahiers archéologiques* 43 (1995): pp. 163–180; A.-M. Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of the Monasteries," in *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, topography and everyday life*, ed. N. Necipoglu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 334–6.

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Μουγουλλίων) in Constantinople, which she made out of her purchase of a church, the houses around, a bath, gardens and vineyards for 4,000 *hyperpera* (golden coins) sometime after 1282, when she, now Abaqa's widow, returned to Constantinople. Her monastery is still extant, being the church of St. Mary of the Mongols, or Panagia Mouchliotissa, the Kanlı Kilise of the Turks. It is the only Byzantine church in Constantinople that was never converted into a mosque.[9] In the document, Maria was called ἡ κυρὰ Μαρία ἡ Παλαιολογίνα ἡ ὑψηλοτάτε δέσποινα τῶν Μουγουλλίων ('Lady Maria Palaiologina, the highest *despoina* of the Mongols').[10]

The title τῶν Μουγουλλίων was an extreme rarity as the very name of the Mongols in the literature and chancery documents of Byzantium was commonly substituted by 'Tatars.' For example, the famous anthology and study *Byzantinoturcica* of Gy. Moravcsik mentioned no more than three Byzantine primary sources (a chronicle, a history and a piece of epic poetry) which utilized the form Μουγούλιοι and its derivates, while the 'Tatar' list was by far more extensive.[11] On a lower level of common speech, however, both ethnic labels were equally in use, as the late Byzantine family names and nicknames testify. Indeed, in the list of the Byzantine names preserved in the primary sources in 1261–1461, one can find 9 'Mongol' and 7 'Tatar' entries, which were the names, nicknames or family names that included, or entirely consisted of, the word 'Mongol' or 'Tatar.'[12] But Maria/Melane's title 'Lady *of the Mongols*' was unique in the Byzantine documentary sources.

The suggestion that the nun Melane was Maria Palaiologina, the widow of Abaqa, can be confirmed by the fact that all the components of Melane's title (ἡ κυρὰ and τῶν Μουγουλλίων) were taken from Maria's official title preserved in the church document of 1351. Her honorific, 'the highest *despoina*' (ἡ ὑψηλοτάτε δέσποινα), sounded strange for a Byzantine; at least, it was no less peculiar than the wording 'of the Mongols' in the antiquarian official language of the Byzantine chancery. According to the late Byzantine ceremonial book of the so-called Pseudo-Kodinos, the term *despoina* ('lady, mistress') usually meant

9 V. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204–1328* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 1.1.39, pp. 88–90.

10 H. Hunger, O. Kresten, J. Koder et al., eds., *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, vol. 3: *Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350–1363* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), p. 66, ll.3–25.

11 Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlages, 1958), vol. 2, pp. 193, 301.

12 *PLP*, N 18041, 27537, 27538, 27457, 27458, 91270, 91271 ('Tatar' entries); 19409, 19410, 19411, 19412, 19416, 19417, 19418, 19419, 21798 ('Mongol' entries); R. Shukurov, "Byzantine Turks of the Pontos," *Mésogeios* 6 (1999): p. 18, N 24 and 25.

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a wife or mother of the emperor,[13] while the *basilissa*, which once meant 'empress,' was reserved for the wives of the *despot*s, the emperor's younger sons and brothers, including in-laws.[14] In the lists of the court rankings, the *despot*s immediately followed the ruling emperor and his co-emperors. Pseudo-Kodinos also used another term, the *basilis*, which could be translated both as 'empress' and as 'princess,' in relation to the newly crowned empress.[15] However, in its more common sense the term *despoina* could have been applied to the daughter of the emperors, thus being a rough equivalent for 'princess': for example, Maria, daughter of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) and wife of Nikephoros Katakalon Euphorbenos, was called *despoina* by her sister Anna Komnena, the famous Byzantine historian.[16] Our Maria Palaiologina was a daughter, though illegitimate, of Emperor Michael Palaiologos. Did this kinship alone give her the right to be called *despoina*?

On a non-official level, perhaps, she could have been called *despoina* as a daughter of Michael VIII, though we lack any evidence thereof. If the title *despoina* suggested her position at the court as one of the daughters of Michael VIII (though for the whole Byzantine period I know no illegitimate daughter of an emperor who held such a high title), the addition 'of the Mongols' sounded inappropriate. The true meaning of the title *despoina* as 'empress' in Pseudo-Kodinos is confirmed by George Pachymeres (d. c. 1310), the Byzantine historian, whose narrative was the only Byzantine primary source that gave us details about Maria Palaiologina's life. Pachymeres' work was noted for its careful reproduction of the Byzantine chancery terms.[17] Throughout his pages, the '*despoina*' was mentioned 53 times, and in almost *all* the cases it suggested either a wife or a widow of an emperor or a co-emperor, including the tsarinas

13 Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux, (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche sientifique, 1976), pp. 132, ll.1–2, 175, ll.29–30, 204, l.10, 257, l.17, 269, ll.9, 21, 286–7, 305, l.1; *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies*, trans. R. Macrides, J. A. Munitiz and D. Angelov (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 86–9, 146–7, 234–7, 266–9.

14 Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, pp. 257, l.21, 287, l.12; *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court*, pp. 218–19, 266–7.

15 Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, pp. 257, l.24, 261, ll.3–4, 262, ll.4, 10, 17, 21, 269, l.7; *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court*, pp. 220–221, 224–227, 234–5.

16 Anna Comnena, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), p. 502, ll.79–83; *PBW* (consulted 15.xii.2014) Maria 146, <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/109659>; Barzos, *He Genealogia tōn Komnēnōn*, vol. 1, pp. 198–203; B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain: Bureau du Recueil, Collège Érasme, Louvain-la-Neuve, Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1980), pp. 194–195.

17 D. Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 14–19.

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of Bulgaria ('the empresses of the Bulgarians').[18] Only once it was applied to the Virgin ('the Lady').[19] The last two mentions of the *despoina* were those of our Maria Palaiologina, whom Pachymeres called the *despoina* of the Mongols, δέσποινα τῶν Μουγουλλίων,[20] in the same way as in the charter of 1351. That the expression δέσποινα τῶν Μουγουλλίων was her *official* title as the Ilkhan's widow is confirmed first by the wording in Pachymeres, who generally did not use the name 'Mongols' in his *History* (with only one exception[21]), but substituted it with the more ancient name of the Tocharians, an allusion to the 'Tatars' (and thus following the common naming of the Mongols as 'Tatars'); and, secondly, by the fact that he half-heartedly accepted her title as an exclusion from his antiquarian patterns only because she 'was called so' (Μαρία καὶ τῶν Μουγουλίων οὕτω πως δέσποινα ὀνομαζομένη).[22] He did not name her *despoina* when describing her betrothal to Hülegü (1256–1265) and then to Abaqa in 1265,[23] but called her as such only after her return to Constantinople from Tabriz sometime after Abaqa's death.

Despoina generally could have been translated as 'princess' and as 'empress,' but both Pachymeres and the charter of 1351 excluded the first meaning. Given the context, the expression δέσποινα τῶν Μουγουλλίων meant only 'the empress of the Mongols.'

The honorific 'the highest' (ἡ ὑψηλοτάτε δέσποινα), which was applied to Maria in the document of 1351, was used in the Byzantine chancery only in relation to foreign rulers; it was absent in the official names of even the early Byzantine emperors with their prolix titles.[24] In the so-called *Ekthesis Nea*, a collection of the addresses used in the chancery of the Patriarch of Constantinople circa 1381, the same chancery that produced the document of 1351, one can read: "How the Patriarch writes to the crowned Emperor: 'My most powerful crowned, esteemed, honored, chosen and exalted by God holy autocrator and emperor.'" Similar titles were assigned to the empress (*despoina*).[25] The addresses to the lower dignitaries of the *despot*, *caesar* and

18 Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, trans. A. Failler and V. Laurent, vol. 5 (Paris: Société d'édition « Les belles lettres », Institute français d'études byzantines, 1984–2000), p. 137; *despoina* as empress of Bulgaria: idem, vol. 1, p. 549, l.9; ii, p. 23, l.26.

19 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 2, p. 149, l.13.

20 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 2, pp. 683, l.8; 701, l.20.

21 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 1, pp. 445, l.7; v (Index), pp. 257, 347.

22 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 2, p. 701, ll.20–1.

23 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 1, p. 235, ll.1–21.

24 G. Rösch, *ONOMA ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), pp. 178–179 (Index).

25 J. Darrouzès, "Ekthésis néa, manuel des pittakia du XIV^{e} siècle," *Revue des études byzantines* 27 (1969): pp. 54 (36), 55 (38).

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sebastokrator did not suggest the honorific 'the highest'.[26] The title seemed to have been used only in correspondence with the rulers *outside* the borders of Byzantium: the tsar of Bulgaria in Tărnovo (but not the one in Vidin),[27] the prince (*knez*) of Serbia, the hospodars (*voivoda*s) of Wallachia and Moldova, the emperor of Trebizond, and later, according to a sixteenth century note, the tsar of Russia.[28] The rich collections of the Byzantine documents in Athos only confirm the overall picture. There, with one exception caused by the strife between Andronikos II and his grandson Andronikos III (1328–1341) in 1321–1328,[29] 'the highest' was used only in relation to the kings of Serbia.[30] The chanceries of the neighboring states, influenced by Byzantium, frequently used 'the highest' in their Greek charters as a component of the official titles of the emperor (including the Byzantine emperor), tsar, king, sultan or the despot of Epiros: in Serbia,[31] Bulgaria,[32] the Kingdom of Cyprus, and the Sultanate of Rūm.[33] Given these facts, one can explain the titles of Maria Palaiologina in the Greek documentary sources. The position she enjoyed in Constantinople, when she returned from Tabriz, was not the one of a Byzantine lady but rather of a plenipotentiary foreign ruler. She truly was a representative of the Ilkhans in Constantinople. I will return to her actions as a powerful Mongol lady at the end of my chapter.

26 *Idem*, pp. 56–58.

27 *Idem*, p. 62 (67): [John Shishman (1371–1393)]: "To Shishman, Master and Emperor of the Bulgarians: 'Most powerful, pious, Christ-loving, highest Emperor of the Bulgarians, in the Holy Spirit my dearest and most esteemed master and son.'" Cf. idem, p. 62 (66).

28 *Idem*, pp. 7, 60 (55–7), 61 (62) to 62 (64), 62 (68), 67 (79).

29 *Actes de Vatopédi I: des origines à 1329*, eds. J. Lefort et al. (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 2001), pp. 314–315 (58, l.2 (1322)). The honorific 'the highest' was not, however, a part of the official title, but merely an emotional expression of Andronikos II who wanted to downplay the position of his rival grandson.

30 *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmôn*, eds. P. Lemerle et al. (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1982), p. 95 (10, l.28); *Actes de Xénophon*, eds. D. Papachryssanthou (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1986), p. 216 (31, l.1); *Actes de Vatopédi I*, p. 317 (58, l.13).

31 A. Solovjev and V. Mošin, eds. *Grčke povelje Srpskih vladara. Diplomata graeca regum et imperatorum Serviae* (1936; rpt. London: Variorum Reprints, 1974), pp. 66, 150, 276, 292 (ix, ll.6, 13, 18; xix, l.8; xxxvi, l.116; xxxix, l.24).

32 G. A. Il'inskij, *Gramoty bolgarskix carej* (1911, rpt. London, 1970), pp. 22–3 (3, ll.36–9, 44, 59–60): превысокій = ὑψηλοτάτος.

33 A. Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Die Formularsammlung eines königlichen Sekretärs im Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367* (Nicosia: Zyprisches Forschungszentrum, Ministerium für Erziehung und Kultur, 2007), pp. 170–2, 183, 212–3, 219 (19, l.2; 20, ll.3,10,42; 32, l.3; 83, ll.21,25,28,30,33; 89, ll.1–2).

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The extant data is not limited to her image in the church of the Holy Savior in Chora, an example of the contemporary portrait of the Ilkhan's wife,[34] or the *History* of Pachymeres, or the charter of 1351. There is a dedicatory poem of her, called "Verses of supplication to the Empress Virgin and Deipara of Chora as if spoken in person by the very pious empress Lady Maria Komnena Palaiologina," written by the poet Manuel Philes in her name and inscribed on a precious Gospel-book of the eleventh century, which she donated to the Chora church.[35] Here, her titles were entirely Byzantine: she was called 'the most pious empress' (*despoina*) in the headline, which echoed the classical expression 'the most pious *augusta*' in the traditional Byzantine public acclamations addressed to the emperor's wife,[36] and the 'empress of the whole Orient' (ἡ τῆς Ἑῴας βασιλὶς τῆς ἁπάσης) in the main text of the poem. Moreover, she, an illegitimate daughter of two noble parents, emperor Michael VIII (who as a descendant of two different Palaiologoi lines was sometimes called Diplopalaiologos, 'a double Palaiologos'[37]) and a Diplobatatzina ('a double Batatzina') who might have also belonged to the Batatzes dynasty (with John III Batatzes as Nicaean emperor in 1221–1254) stressed her connections with the Byzantine royal circles: the Palaiologoi and the Komnenoi. It was John III Batatzes, who proudly wrote about his Komnenean lineage in his famous letter to Pope Gregory IX in 1237. Likewise, the official title of her father, Emperor Michael VIII, also declared the Komnenoi as his royal ancestors: "Michael, faithful in Christ God emperor and autocrat of the Romans, Doukas, Angelos, Komnenos, Palaiologos."[38] The poetical language did not necessarily

34 Another example is the famous portrait of Hülegü and Doquz Khatun (Dūqūz Khātūn) in the MS Vatican Syriac 559 dated to 1260: J.-M. Fiey, "Iconographie syriaque, Hulegu, Dokuz Khatun … et six ambons?," *Le Muséon* 88 (1975): pp. 59–68.

35 P. N. Papageōrgiou, "Hai Serrai kai ta proasteia, ta peri tas Serras kai hē monē Iōannou tou Prodromou," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 3 (1894): pp. 325–9; L. F. Sherry, "Poem of Maria Komnene Palaiologina to the Virgin and Mother of God, the Chorine," *Cahiers archéologiques* 43 (1995): p. 181; C. Asdracha, "A Brief Commentary to the Verses of Supplication to the Virgin, dedicated to her by the Despoina of Mongoulion," *Cahiers archéologiques* 43 (1995): 183–4. I use the translation of Sherry.

36 Constantine VII Porphyrogénète, *Le livre des ceremonies*, vol. 2, ed. A. Vogt (Paris: Société d'édition « Les belles lettres », 1967–1968), p. 174, l.8.

37 A. T. Papadopulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259–1453* (Munich, 1938, reprinted Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1962), p. 1.

38 Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 42; *idem*, "Diplomatic Correspondence between Byzantium and the Mamlūk Sultanate in the Fourteenth Century," *Al-Masāq* 16 (2004): p. 57. At present, it is not possible to demonstrate the direct connection between the Batatzes and the Diplobatatzes families, save the similarity of their family names and the analogy with the Palaiologoi and the Diplopalaiologoi, who indeed were one and the same family. However, the mother of our Maria, the

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coincide with the official one, but the contrast was striking: no Mongol connections were mentioned in Maria Palaiologina's private poem, and yet it was her marriage alliance with the Ilkhan that gave her the right to call herself 'the empress of the whole Orient.' Was it just an exaggeration? For we know that until the reforms of the Ilkhan Ghazan (r. 1295–1304) the Ilkhanid coins bore the title of the Great Qa'an, so in theory the Ilkhans' state was a part of the *Yeke Mongghol Ulus*.[39] Maria had no right to call herself the mistress of *all* the Mongols, still less the empress of the whole Orient. The possible answer to this conundrum lies in the Byzantine perceptions of the Mongols in Iran. When the Mongols entered Europe and the Middle East in the 1240s, the Byzantine Empire was no more: the Crusaders had conquered Constantinople in 1204 and the old empire disintegrated. The invaders established the Latin Empire; the rest of the former Byzantine lands became the basis for three Greek states: the Nicaean Empire, the Despotate of Epiros and the Empire of Trebizond.

In 1243 at the battle at Köse Dagh, the Mongol army defeated the Seljuks of Rūm, and the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Din Kay-Khusraw II (1237–1245) recognized the supreme authority of Batu, the Khān of the Golden Horde (1239–1255). Unlike Rūm, the Nicaean Empire did not come under Mongol sway. At the end of 1251, the Mongols sent their first embassy to Nicaea, which reached the territory of the Empire in 1252. The Nicaean embassy appeared in Qaraqorum shortly before the reception given by the Great Qa'an Möngke on 4 January 1254. According to Rubruc, in 1252 John III "sent [envoys], but since he has come to know them [the Mo'als] he has paid them little heed. He has not made peace with them, nor have they as yet invaded his territory."[40] This passage *prima facie* meant that even the embassy to the Great Qa'an had

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first member of the Diplobatatzes family mentioned in the sources, was not the only Diplobatatzina linked with the Palaiologoi. There is a charter in the archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which mentions a certain nun Martha Palaiologina Diplobatatzina, who gifted a *paterikon* book to her spiritual father Galaktion in the monastery of St. Gerasimos τοῦ Καλαμῶνος near the river Jordan in the fourteenth century. The Diplobatatzes were prominent landowners in the environs of Serrhai in Macedonia. *PLP*, N 5506–5516, 91797, 91798; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitikē bibliothēkē* (1891–1915; rpt. Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1963), vol. 1, p. 244.

39 M. A. Sejfeddini, *Monety il'xanov XIV veka* (Baku: Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences Press, 1968), p. 28; Ö. Diler, *Ilkhans* (*Ilkhanids*). *Coinage of the Persian Mongols* (Istanbul: Turkuaz Kitapçılık, 2006), p. 349: the pre-reform Ghazan's coins with the inscription *Qaġan-u nere-ber* "in the name of the [Great] Qa'an."

40 Willelmus de Rubruc, "Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruc," in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 1, ed. Van den Wyngaert (Florence: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929), pp. 247, 290; Guglielmo di Rubruk, *Viaggio in Mongolia*, trans. P. Chiesa (Rome: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla – Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 2014), pp. 150, 240; Guillaume de Rubrouck, envoyé de saint Louis, *Voyage dans l'empire Mongol, 1253–1255*, trans. Cl. and R. Kappler (Paris: Payot,

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not settled all the problems of the Nicaean-Mongol relations. Another Greek state, the Empire of Trebizond, seemed to have recognized the Mongol suzerainty soon after the battle at Köse Dagh. There was, however, a difference. If the 'Sultan of Tākwar,' who, according to Juwaynī, attended the coronation of Güyük (1246–1248) in 1246, was indeed Manuel I Grand Komnenos (1238–1263) of Trebizond, the direct descendant of our *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos in Kariye Cami, that also suggested that the emperor of Trebizond *personally* paid court to the Great Qa'an. In 1246, Manuel I continued to consider himself a true Byzantine Emperor, like his rival in Nicaea; it was only in 1282, when his son John II (1280–1297) Grand Komnenos was constrained by Michael VIII Palaiologos, the restorer the Byzantine Empire in 1261, to change his Imperial title from the 'faithful in Christ God, Emperor and autocrat of the Romans' to the lesser one 'Grand Komnenos, faithful in Christ God, Emperor and autocrat of all Anatolia,[41] [lands of] the Georgians, and the Perateia[42] [i.e. the Crimea].'[43] From the point of view of the Byzantine diplomatic etiquette, Manuel I did

1985), pp. 160–161, 204–205; *Mission of William of Rubruck*, ed. and trans. P. Jackson and D. Morgan (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990), pp. 175, 227. I follow Jackson's translation.

41 Anatolia here was not restricted only to the peninsula of Asia Minor. In a more general sense 'Anatolia' meant 'Orient,' 'the place where sun rises (ἀνατέλλω).' R. M. Shukurov, "Turkoman and Byzantine Self-Identity: Some Reflections on the Logic of the Title-Making in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Anatolia," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. A. Eastmond (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 265–272; N. Oikonomides, "Chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: Imperial tradition and political reality," *Archeion Pontou* 35 (1979): pp. 327–329.

42 Oikinomides, op. cit., pp. 329–330.

43 Juwaynī/Qazwīnī, vol. 1, pp. 205, 211–212; Juwaynī/Boyle, pp. 250, 256–257; B. G. Lippard, *Mongols and Byzantium, 1243–1341* (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1984), pp. 179–180; A. A. M. Bryer "Grand Komnenos and the Great Khan at Karakorum in 1246," *Res Orientales*, 5 (1994): pp. 257–261; S. P. Karpov, *Istorija Trapezundskoj imperii* (St. Petersburg: Aletheia, 2007), pp. 187–195; J. S. Langdon, "Byzantium's Initial Encounters with the Chinggisids: an Introduction to the Byzantino-Mongolica," *Viator* 29 (1998): p. 120, n. 140; R. M. Šukurov, *Velikie Komniny i Vostok* (*1204–1461*) (St. Petersburg: Aletheia, 2001), pp. 159–165. Plano Carpini, however, did not mention the emperor of Trebizond among the rulers who attended the coronation of Güyük in 22 July–24 August 1246: Iohannes de Plano Carpini, "Ystoria Mongalorum," in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 1: *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. van den Wyngaert (Florence: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929), pp. 89–90, 118; Giovanni di Plan di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli* (*Historia Mongalorum*), critical ed. E. Menestò, trans. M. C. Lungarotti, notes P. Daffinà (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1989), pp. 289–290, 319. Carpini arrived at Güyük's residence 22 July 1246; and 24 August 1246 (St. Bartholomew's feast) was the day of Güyüg's coronation. On Carpini's chronology, see: Giovanni di Plan di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli* (*Historia Mongalorum*), pp. 389, 391; J. Grießauf, *Die Mongolengeschichte des Johannes von Piano Carpine* (Graz: Selbstverlag des Instituts für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 1995), pp. 79–80, 215, 218.

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something impossible in 1246, as he was the first Roman Emperor, in theory the highest ranking sovereign in the Universe, who of his free will recognized a barbarian ruler as his superior and *personally* visited his residence, while John III Batatzes only sent an embassy to Qaraqorum in 1254. It was Hülegü, the first Ilkhan in 1256–1265, who helped the Nicaean emperor to solve the diplomatic controversy: on the one hand, to avoid the possible war with the Mongols (by concluding a peace treaty with them); and on the other, to preserve the traditional diplomatic protocol's place of the Byzantine emperor being a rightful heir to the Roman emperors. Hence the importance of the Ilkhanid state in the Byzantine 'dossier' on the Mongols.

In 1255, Hülegü launched his famous campaign against the Ismāʿīlī state, and after a series of the successful military campaigns, he destroyed Baghdād in 1258. The first initial military encounter of the Byzantines and the Mongols took place two years earlier, in 1256, when Hülegü sent the special detachment under the command of Baiju to Rūm. Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II decided to offer resistance. At that time (in the summer or autumn of 1256) Michael Palaiologos (the future Emperor Michael VIII) arrived at Rūm as a refugee from the Nicaean Empire where he faced accusations of being a claimant to the throne. Michael Palaeologos took part in the Seljuk-Mongol battle near Sultanhanı (also known as the Battle of Aq-Saray), 16 October 1256. Though Theodore II had not sent any military unit to support the Seljuks in their struggle with the Mongols, nonetheless the detachments of the local Greeks under Michael fought the Mongols under the Byzantine banners, as if Nicaea had declared war against Hülegü. The Seljuk army was completely defeated, and in January 1257 Kay-Kāwūs II arrived at Sardes, the Nicaean territory; at approximately the same time Michael Palaiologos, who found shelter in Kastamonu, was pardoned by the Emperor and returned to Nicaea. The rebel sultan returned to Konya only in May 1257.[44]

At this point, the Byzantine knew little about the Mongols. George Pachymeres, our chief Byzantine source about the Mongols, who wrote his 'History' at the beginning of the fourteenth century, mentioned them only in relation to their campaigns against the Seljuks and the subjugation of the Sultanate of Rūm, which suggests a *terminus a quo* of his first evidence concerning the Mongols. This was, undoubtedly, the battle at Köse Dagh in 1243.[45] On hearing about the Mongols, John III Batatzes stuffed the fortresses with grain and weapons. According to Pachymeres, "the nation [of the Mongols] until then was so obscure, that many related that they had dog's heads and did

44 Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 192–200.

45 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 1, p. 33, ll.13–24.

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something forbidden, such as, as was believed, cannibalism."[46] It seems that the first Nicaean (Byzantine) embassy to the Mongols, sent by John III, left no traces in the Byzantine sources. For Pachymeres, the Mongols had appeared from the east – from Iran, the Caucasus and then Asia Minor; he knew nothing of the earlier expeditions of Batu. Moreover, he mentioned the Mongols under the name 'Tocharians' (ὁ Τόχαρος), the long-forgotten Indo-European nation that inhabited the lands north of Bactria in Transoxiana, though he stated that they 'are customarily called Atars (ὁ Ἀτάριος)'.[47] However, unlike many other Byzantine authors, he was aware of the name 'Mongols' (ὁ Μουγούλιος). Of all his three mentions of the name on the pages of his *History*, two were the reproductions of Maria Palaiologina's official title 'Lady of the Mongols,' and only one received an antiquarian explanation, as the Byzantine tradition required that a new nation should be 'linked' with an older one, which had been described in details by the Ancient Greek, Roman, or early Byzantine geographers.[48] Pachymeres described the Mongols in the chapter concerning the 'kingdom' of *noyan* Noghai, the *de facto* co-ruler of the Golden Horde, whom Michael VIII Palaiologos married to his daughter Euphrosyne in 1270. The marriage provided relative safety for the Balkan possessions of the Empire.[49] The text reads:

> This Noghai was the most powerful man among the Tocharians, wise in strategy and experienced in [state] affairs. With many forces composed from his fellow Tocharians, whom they themselves call the Mongols, he was sent from the lands near the Caspian Sea by the rulers of his nation, whom they called khans (κάνιδας). He entered [the lands] of the northern nations along the Black Sea, which were once under the power of the Romans, and which abandoned their own masters and became independent after the capture of Constantinople[50] and the difficult circumstances of the Romans … The nation [of the Tocharians] enjoys simplicity and support of each other (φιλαλληλίᾳ, lit. 'mutual love'), but they

46 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 1, p. 187, ll.11–21.

47 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 1, p. 181, l.14.

48 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 2, pp. 683, l.8, 701, l.20.

49 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 1, p. 243, ll.3–10; F. Dölger, ed., with assistance of P. Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches, 565–1453*, vol. 3, *Regesten von 1204–1282* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1977), p. 111; A. Failler, "Chronologie et composition dans l'Histoire de Georges Pachymère," part 2: *Revue des Études Byzantines* 39 (1981): pp. 210–211.

50 Pachymeres meant the capture of Constantinople by the participants of the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

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> are knavish and swift against their enemies; they sustain themselves but they are unintelligent and careless about the [meaning of] life. For their first lawgiver (νομοθέτῃ)[51] was no Solon, or Lycurgus, or Draco (these were the lawgivers for the Athenians and Lacedaemonians and some other nations, wise for those wise and learned for those versed in science), but was an unknown man, lowly in all, a smith at the beginning, who then became khan, as they call their ruler. He made the people, who wanted to leave, go out from the Caspian Gates, and he promised them that they always be victorious if they follow his laws: to avoid luxury, to be content with what they have, to have mutual support, to turn away from free will, to follow their community, never to seek livelihood eagerly, to eat any food save the impure one, to live with many women[52] … So these are the rules of their lawgiver Chinggis Khan[53] (I have now recalled his name) which they firmly keep. They seek truth in their speech and justice in their deeds; they have freedom in their souls and righteousness in their minds, so one cannot be deceived when listening to another person, and the latter does no intrigues against him.[54]

Pachymeres followed here the traditional Ancient Greek picture of the nomadic barbarians, which was based on the famous Herodotus' narrative on the Scythians, though Herodotus did not know the name of the Tocharians;[55] one should recall, however, that the Byzantines believed, after the later Ancient Greek geographers, that the Tocharians were part of the greater Scythian nation, the *gens Scythica*.[56] To understand the Byzantine approach, one should

51 *Nomothetos* meant not only 'a lawgiver,' but also 'a prophet.'

52 I will not discuss here the 'laws of Chinggis Khān,' as this is the subject of another article. However, this particular text of Pachymeres is the earliest evidence of the Yasa in the Byzantine sources.

53 Tzingískani (Τζιγκίσκανι).

54 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 1, pp. 445, l.5 to 447, l.25.

55 Hérodote, *Histoires*, ed. Ph.-E. Legrand (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960–1970), vol. 4, *Melpomene*, 1–144; Herodotus, *Persian Wars*, trans. by A. D. Godley (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1920–1925), vol. 2, pp. 198–345; D. Asheri, A. Lloyd, and A. Corcella, *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV*, eds. O. Murray and A. Moreno, with M. Brosius (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 573–669; A. Kaldellis, *Ethnography after Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 113–117.

56 Eustathius of Thessalonica, "Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae Orbis descriptionem," in *Geographici graeci minores*, vol. 2, ed. K. Müller (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1855–1861), p. 348, section 752. Cf. Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. 5, trans. H. L. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917–1932), pp. 259–61: "On the left and opposite these peoples are situated the Scythian or nomadic tribes, which cover the whole of the northern side. Now the greater part of the Scythians, beginning at the Caspian Sea, are called Däae, but

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remember that "archaization" of the names of the "barbarians" was a specific Byzantine "research tool". It was based on the Aristotelian concept of the Genus and the Species, according to which the descriptions of the "new" nations, who appeared in the Byzantine orbit, should fit the more general taxonomy of the nations of old, matching the location and the habitat. As Shukurov noted, "Byzantine sources do not know any other logic than to sum up the individual objects under the abstract category of the genus".[57] According to this, the Mongols were, of course, the Scythians, as they came (from the Byzantine point of view) from the same lands as the Scythians or indeed as Tocharians (a part of the Scythians) of old and were likewise nomads. The scheme, however, did not properly work in the descriptions of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, and even the text of Pachymeres, composed at the beginning of the fourteenth century, showed some quite peculiar features.

Kaldellis, who analyzed the description of the Mongols in Pachymeres, noted that 'in panegyric and historiography, the nomadic Scythian was the antithesis of the urban, cultured Roman, standing for the forces of blind destruction.'[58] Yet these 'forces of blind destruction' were positively portrayed in Pachymeres: according to Kaldellis, 'the Scythians had suddenly become the wave of the future.'[59] Indeed, Pachymeres was the first Byzantine author who mentioned Chinggis Khan (1206–1227) and who tried to describe the Mongols as a new nation with their own prophet, almost on a par with the famous Solon or Lycurgus. On the one hand, Pachymeres's narrative summarized what was written before him, and on the other, he paved the way to describing the Mongols as typically nomadic people, the same as the Scythians of old. What is important, however, is that Pachymeres did not use the label 'Scythians' in relation to the Mongols,

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those who are situated more to the east than these are named Massagetae and Sacae, whereas all the rest are given the general name of Scythians, though each people is given a separate name of its own. They are all for the most part nomads. But the best known of the nomads are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, I mean the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, and Sacarauli, who originally came from the country on the other side of the Iaxartes River (modern Syr-Daryā (Sayḥūn)) that adjoins that of the Sacae and the Sogdiani and was occupied by the Sacae. And as for the Däae, some of them are called Aparni, some Xanthii, and some Pissuri. Now of these the Aparni are situated closest to Hyrcania and the part of the sea that borders on it, but the remainder extend even as far as the country that stretches parallel to Aria".

57 R. M. Shukurov, "The Byzantine Classification of the Turks: Archaization or Academic Traditionalism?", in N. Asutay-Effenberger, F. Daim, eds. *ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΙΟΝ. Spaziergang im Kaiserlichen Garten. Festschrift für A. Effenberger zum 70. Geburtstag* (Mainz: RGZM, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 2012), pp. 275–276.

58 Kaldellis, *Ethnography after Antiquity*, p. 156.

59 Kaldellis, *Ethnography after Antiquity*, p. 160.

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despite his excellent education. Nikephoros Gregoras (d. between 1358 and 1361), who wrote after Pachymeres and used his narrative as a starting point, appropriately called the Mongols the Scythians and described them as true descendants of the famous nomads of the past, fully in accordance with the traditional Byzantine taxonomy practice.[60] Pachymeres's reluctance in naming openly the Mongols Scythians can be explained by two factors: first, by the previous tradition of the thirteenth century, and secondly, by the focus on the Ilkhans, rather than the rulers of the Golden Horde. Both states were important for the safety and wellbeing of the Byzantine borders in Europe and Asia, but it was the Ilkhans with whom the Byzantines in the first instance concluded very profitable matrimonial alliances, resulted later in the special status of Maria, 'the Lady of the Mongols', in Constantinople. Pachymeres did not know the name of Batu, the founder of the Golden Horde, but he was well aware of Hülegü. The focus on the Iranian, rather than Golden Horde, Mongols was later 'inherited' by Gregoras, who wrote that after the death of Chinggis Khān (Σιτζισχᾶν) his two sons, Hülegü (Χαλαοῦ) and Töle-Buqa (Τελεπουγᾶς) led the Mongol armies further south and west – one against Asia and another against Europe.[61] Here, Töle-Buqa was the Khan of the Golden Horde, who ruled in 1287–1291. The great campaigns of Batu and even his name were almost overlooked by the Byzantine historians.

The apparent ignorance of the fourteenth century historians, Pachymeres and Gregoras, is to be accounted for by their dependence on the nomenclature of their thirteenth century predecessors – Akropolites, Skoutariotes and Michael VIII Palaiologos. George Akropolites (d. 1282), the immediate predecessor of Pachymeres, distinguished the Mongols under Batu, whom he called 'Tatars,' from the Mongols of Iran. The latter were called 'Tocharians.' Pachymeres, it seems, just borrowed the name. According to the Greek geographers, their lands lay north of Bactria in Transoxiana. It seems that Akropolites had chosen 'Tocharians' out of all ancient names of the nomadic people because Transoxiana served a springboard of Hülegü's victorious campaign in 1255–1256.[62] Akropolites mentioned the Mongols of the Golden

60 Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia byzantina*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker (Bonn: Weber, 1829–1855), vol. 1, pp. 35, l.14 to 40, l.25.

61 Gregoras, *Historia byzantina*, vol. 1, pp. 35, l.14 to 36, l.2.

62 Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, vol. 2, ed. C. F. A. Nobbe (1845; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), pp. 116, 119: Liber VI:11:6, l.9–10 (Τόχαροι), Liber VI:12:4, l.5 (Τάχοροι); Klaudios Ptolemaios, *Handbuch der Geographie* (*Griechisch-Deutch*), ed. A. Stückelberger and G. Graßhoff, with assistance of F. Mittenhuber et al. (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2006), pp. 648, 652; Strabo, *Strabonis Geographica*, vol. 2, ed. A. Meineke (1877, rpt. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1969), pp. 717–18: Book 11:8:2, ll.10–11;

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Horde (as 'Tatars') only once, while the 'Tocharian' Mongols of Iran received far closer attention on his part. However, Akropolites's wording did not impress Skoutariotes (d. after 1283), once a member of the Byzantine embassy to the Council of Lyons (1274) and then a metropolitan of Kyzikos, who wrote a chronicle, in which he plagiarized from Akropolites's. He most notably used only the term 'Atarioi' in the relevant common passages, thus making no distinction between the Mongols of Iran and the Golden Horde (see Appendix). It ran against the Byzantine traditions as the name 'Atarioi' suggested no antiquarian models; it was just a modification of the more correct form 'Tatar,' with the first initial 't' being omitted. It is easy to see the principal difference between Skoutariotes and Akropolites: the former considered the Mongols as one single nation whilst the latter *divided* them. The name 'Tatars' was already known in the Greek cities in the Crimea in relation to the Mongols of the Golden Horde from 1223, hence Akropolites's 'Tatars.'[63] But he deliberately accorded to the Iranian Mongols the more ancient and noble pedigree of the 'Tocharians.'

Skoutariotes evidently borrowed the name 'Atarioi' from Michael VIII's typikon of the monastery of Archangel Michael, whose first draft was written sometime in 1261. There, Michael related his first personal encounter with the Mongols in the battle at Sultanhanı on 16 October 1256:

> I had, therefore, to leave my native land, that of the Romans, I mean, and I fled to a foreign country. I entered Persian [Turkish] territory, facing many dangers along the way, it should be noted, from all of which I was rescued by God. I remained for quite a while with the ruler of the Persians. There I often led a contingent of our Persian enemies nobly into battle against the Atarioi (Ἀταρίοις). This people migrated from the eastern lands not a long time ago. They have been raised to war, gladly shed blood, and are spirited like a herd of cattle. Borne along by the situation and yielding to necessity, I endured. What was accomplished there let others say.[64]

Strabo/Jones, vol. 5, pp. 256–260; Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis descriptio. Das Lied von der Welt*, ed. K. Brodersen (Hildesheim: Olms, 1994), ll.746–57; *Paraphrases in Dionysium Periegetam*, in *Geographici graeci minores*, vol. 2, ed. K. Müller (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1855–1861), p. 419, section 749–761, ll.1–14; 'Umarī/Lech, p. 17 (p. 102 of German translation); RD/Karīmī, vol. 2, pp. 687–689; RD/RM, vol. 2, pp. 978–979; RD/Arends, vol. 3, pp. 24–25; RD/Thackston, pp. 479–480.

63 M. Nystazopoulou, *He en tē Taurikē Khersonēsō polis Sougdaia* (Athens, 1965), pp. 119.8, 120.10: τάταροι.

64 Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ περιωνύμῳ βουνῷ τοῦ Αὐξεντίου κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Χαλκηδόνος βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ, ἧς κτήτωρ ὁ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ πρῶτος τῶν Παλαιολόγων, in *Opisanie liturgičeskix rukopisej, xranjaščixsja v bibliotekax pravoslavnogo Vostoka*, ed.

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Pachymeres evidently knew all these sources (Akropolites's chronicle and the text of the typikon's draft) and once mentioned the 'Atarioi.'[65] His favorite label for the Mongols was however the 'Tocharians,' regardless of whether they were the Mongols of the Golden Horde or the Mongols of Iran.[66] Despite the mixture of the names, the initial focus of the Byzantine historical tradition, from Akropolites onwards, on the Iranian Mongols is beyond any doubt.

Emperor Michael VIII was not only the first Byzantine author who named the Mongols under Hülegü the 'Atarioi,' but he also made first attempt to 'locate' those Mongols. In his second *typikon* he 'discovered' their homeland somewhere in Central Asia, along the river Āmū-Daryā, though the Byzantines certainly knew about Mongolia and Qaraqorum where Emperor John III Batatzes had sent his embassy in 1252. The second *typikon* reads:

> How did God deliver us at that time and how from such oppression did "He brought me out into a wide place" (Ps. 17 [18]:19)? To put it succinctly, he saved me [by sending me] to the Persians [Turks]. There he took me by my right hand and gloriously added to what he had given me. Even now one can still hear them singing the praise of our battle line as it faced the Massagetai (Μασσαγετῶν), its morale as it charged into battle, and its great victory over warriors who were up to then regarded as invincible. This was achieved in the midst of Persian territory, not by us but by God working through us.[67]

To understand the background of Michael VIII's statement, one should remember that the ancient Greek historians, and Herodotus (c. 484–425 BC) in particular, located the Massagetae somewhere in the Central Asia, on the right

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A. Dmitrievskij, vol. 1, *Typika*, pt. 1, *Pamjatniki patriaršix ustavov i ktitorskie monastyrskie tipikony* (Kiev: Imperial University of St. Vladimir's Press, 1895), p. 791; "Typikon of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxentios near Chalcedon," trans. G. Dennis, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, eds. J. Thomas, A. C. Hero, with assistance of G. Constable (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999), p. 1231 (electronic version http://www.doaks.org/typ000.html). On the typikon's date (1261–1280/1281), see: *idem*, p. 1207. I slightly correct Dennis's translation.

65 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 1, p. 181, l.14.

66 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 1, p. 33, l.14 ff.; cf. *idem*, vol. 5 (Index), pp. 115, 347.

67 H. Grégoire, "Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi de vita sua," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60): p. 453; "*Typikon* of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi-Kellibara in Constantinople," tr. G. Dennis, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. Thomas, Hero and Constable, p. 1243.

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shore of the Āmū-Daryā (the Araxes in Herodotus),[68] north and west of the Tocharians; the difference was that the obscure Tocharians received far lesser attention on the part of the Ancient Greek and Byzantine geographers and historians,[69] while their neighbors, the Massagetae, were much more 'popular' and were often compared with the Scythians.[70] Michael VIII was not the only writer who conferred on the Mongols the names of the long forgotten nations of the past that actually had nothing common with them save their territory. The name 'Massagetae' in relation to the Mongols was also used by Gregory II of Cyprus, the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1283–1289.[71] It was Pachymeres who first tried to summarize all the data about the Mongols. Like Michael VIII and Skoutariotes before him, he called the Mongols 'Atarioi,' and like Akropolites, 'Tocharians,' but most notably he successively applied these names to *all* the Mongols, not just the Iranian ones. In both 'Tocharian' and 'Massagetan' cases, the initial location of all the Mongols was where Hülegü began to create his own polity, and whence some nameless khans had sent Nogai to lay a foundation of the state of the Golden Horde, if we believe Pachymeres. And if one recalls the statements in both typikons of Michael VIII Palaiologos that the Mongols came to Asia Minor from 'the eastern parts,' τῶν ἑῴων μερῶν, and those were the lands of the Massagetae, one then can set the limits of the 'Orient' in

68 Hérodote, *Histoires*, vol. 1: *Clio*, 201–216; Herodotus, *Persian Wars*, vol. 1, pp. 254–71; Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella, *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV*, pp. 212–13.

69 S. A. Burlak and I. B. Itkin, "Toxarskie jazyki," in *Jazyki mira: Reliktovye indoevropejskie jazyki Perednej i Central'noj Azii*, ed. Ju.B. Korjakov and A. A. Kibrik (Moscow: Academia, 2013), pp. 386–398; cf. T. B. Krause and J. Slocum, *Tocharian Online*, http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/eieol/tokol-0-X.html, accessed March 23, 2015: "The Tocharian languages were first discovered in documents unearthed in expeditions to Chinese Turkestan (East Turkestan, or Xinjiang); the sites are located along what was once the Silk Road … One primary site of Tocharian remains is Turfan … A second major source of Tocharian documents is Kučā, a city to the west of Turfan, in the center of the northern boundary of the Takla Makan Desert. A third major site, Tumšuq, forms the extreme western boundary of Tocharian finds. This lies along the northern rim of the desert, between Kučā and Kašg^{h}ar, a city at the desert's western extreme. The name 'Tocharian' (German *Tocharisch*) was proposed first by F. W. K. Müller in 1907, and a year later by the renowned pair of Tocharianists Sieg and Siegling. This name is now thought to be a misnomer, but nevertheless remains due to sheer inertia and the lack of a definitive replacement."

70 Ptolemaeus/Nobbe, vol. 2, pp. 114, 121: Liber VI:10:2, l.4, Liber VI:13:3, l.5; Ptolemaios/Stückelberger and Graßhoff, pp. 644, 656; Strabo/Meineke, vol. 1, p. xiv; ii, pp. 712, 718–721: Book 11:6:2, ll.8–15, 11:8:2, ll.1–8, 11:8:6, ll.1–24, 11:8:8, ll.1–20; Strabo/Jones, vol. 5, pp. 244–247, 258–269; Dionysius Periegetes/Brodersen, ll. 739–45.

71 Gregorius Cyprius archiepiscopus Constantinopolitani, *Oratio laudatoria in Imperatorem Dominum Michaelem Palaeologum Novum Constantinum*, in J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeco-latina*, vol. 142 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1885), col. 365; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 2, pp. 183–184.

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Maria Palaiologina's title 'empress of the whole Orient,' ἡ τῆς Ἑῴας βασιλὶς τῆς ἁπάσης – that 'Orient' did not go beyond Transoxiana. As the Ilkhan's wife, she was the empress of the whole Orient and of the Mongols (a *pars pro toto* based on the geographical settings described above) in the Byzantine eyes.

Only later did Gregoras try to re-shape the 'Mongol entry' in a more classical way. He wrote his *History* sometime during 1330s, thus during the decline of the Ilkhanid state after the death of the Ilkhan Abū Saʿīd (1316–1335). The close relations between Byzantium and the Ilkhans were in the past. This allowed Gregoras to adopt a more nuanced approach. First, he located the Mongols' homeland somewhere in the 'utter part of the extreme north (the Hyperboreon)'.[72] Secondly, he directly linked those nomads with the Scythians of Herodotus and ascribed to them the traditional nomadic values. But the overall process of the transformation of the image of the Mongols in the Byzantine sources was somewhat different from Kaldellis's views, as it was the initial impression of Michael VIII on the battlefield at Sultanhanı in 1256, and not the relations of John III Batatzes's embassy sent to Qaraqorum in 1252, that predetermined the image of the Mongols in the Byzantine literature before the classicizing description by Gregoras. The picture of the Mongols that came first from the pen of Michael VIII, prevailed in Byzantium for almost a century, from 1261 until Gregoras's *History* (before 1358). From the beginning of their initial encounters with the Mongols, the Byzantines were focused more on the Iranian Mongols rather than their compatriots in the Golden Horde.

Indeed, Pachymeres had so high an opinion of the Ilkhanid state that he wrote an 'encomium' in his *History* dedicated to his contemporary Ilkhan Ghazan, and no ruler of the Golden Horde received such a laudatory description:

> And Ghazan (Καζάνης), the Khan of the Oriental Tocharians, ended his life at the age of thirty-five, having achieved within six years of his reign a lot worthy of remembrance[73] … When he [first] came to power, he looked to that Cyrus and Darius and took a more especial delight in their deeds spoken of long ago. He thus adorned himself with the [full] augustness of the realm. Later, having turned his mind to the famous [deeds] of Alexander, the victor of Darius, he exceedingly loved the acts of that [man]. For this too he sought a like destiny and to achieve that fame which belongs to brave deeds wherever [they are done]. That is why he

72 Gregoras, *Historia byzantina*, vol. 1, pp. 35, ll.14–18.

73 Ghazan died on Sunday, 11 May 1304. J. A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns," in *CHI*, vol. 5: *Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 396.

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held the great number of his shield-bearers in honor and gladly employed Iberians (i.e. Georgians) against his enemies. Most [of these Iberians] were high-born by race and, moreover, had the pure and blameless piety of the Christians. For this reason, when he learned that the Cross was the trophy of the Christians, he led his [Georgian] shield-bearers as his rear-guard (as the most important unit of his army) in battle. He caused numerous dangers to the sultan of the Arabs, so that he was [on the verge] of attacking Jerusalem itself and of taking it just to please the Iberians on account of the life-giving tomb [of our Savior there]. Likewise he would do harm to Egypt if he were not stopped there by so many sand desert areas and extreme lack of water … It was amazing that he followed these ideas being himself a barbarian. He believed that a pious and good ruler is an image of God, as indeed He prejudices no one in His assessment [when making] His gifts, be that person just or not, be he a Roman, a Scythian, a Sarmatian, or a Greek, for He is benevolent to all through rain, sun and the seasons. Likewise, he thought, a just ruler should be well-disposed to all his subjects when distributing the gifts. He struck from purified gold the coin [called] Ghazanin (Καζάνειον).[74] He promulgated just and accomplished laws; he was preoccupied with justice above all, so that it was [justice], and nothing else, which was preferred. He himself had a cousin (αὐτανέψιον) Toqtā, to whom the kingdom belonged because of his birth. When on his death-bed, he suspected that Toqtā's deeds were not in accordance with their own custom. He disregarded him, who was his heir apparent, and sent for his brother,[75] who lingered with his army somewhere near the lands of India. His name was Kharbanda – someone could have called him muleteer (ὀρεωκόμον), as there was [a muleteer] who by chance appeared at the time of his birth; such [way of giving first names] is their custom.[76] He established him on the kingdom and

74 Pachymeres mentioned the coin reforms of the Ilkhan Ghazan, in particular his new gold coin called 'ghāzāniyya' in the Persian sources: 'Abdollāh ibn Moḥammad ibn Kiyā al-Māzandarānī, *Die Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, ed. W. Hinz (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1952), p. 240; Sejfeddini, *Monety il'xanov XIV veka*, p. 120.

75 Ilkhan Öljeitü (1304–1316) was indeed the brother of Ghazan.

76 Orbelian translates Kharbanda as 'servant of God' (*tsaṙay Astutsoy*): Step'annos Orbēlean, *Patmut'iwn nahangin Sisakan* (Paris: I Gortsatan K. V. Shahnazareants', 1859), vol. 2, p. 231; Step'annos Orbelean, *History of the State of Sisakan*, tr. R. Bedrosian (Long Branch, N.J., 2012–2015), p. 244 (available on the site http://rbedrosian.com/SO/sotoc.html, accessed May 5, 2015). Cf. *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 2, Arabic text and French trans. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1853–8), pp. 114–115; Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Îl-Khāns," p. 398: "He assumed the throne name of Öljeitü (in Mongol 'Fortunate' or 'Auspicious') in addition to that of Khar-Banda (in Persian

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> gave orders that his, [Ghazan's], laws and agreements should be kept unchanged for three years.[77]

In order to construct an image of a perfect king, Pachymeres purposefully overlooked historical reality. The Ilkhan Ghazan was the second Muslim Ilkhan; it was during his reign when the Ilkhanid state became Muslim and remained such until its downfall in 1335. Ghazan's accession to the throne, which he had taken away from his relative Baidu, was marked by cruel persecutions of Christians. Not everything was untrue in Pachymeres: he mentioned, though not correctly, the etymology of the name 'Kharbanda' of the future Ilkhan Öljeitü (1304–1316) and his dwellings near 'India' (in reality, Khurāsān), the coinage reforms of Ghazan (understood in a typically Byzantine way[78]) and his legislative activity. Pachymeres took an innovative approach when describing the Mongols in the terms that cannot be reduced to the meager picture of the 'Scythian nomads.' On the contrary, he compared the Ilkhan to the great kings of Persia: the Achaemenides Cyrus (Kurush) II (549–530 BC) and Darius (Darayavahush) I (522–486 BC), and then Alexander III the Great of

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'Ass-Herd') given him either at birth, in accordance with the Mongol custom of naming a child after the first person or object that caught the mother's eye after the confinement, or at a later stage, in accordance with the custom of altering a child's name to protect him against the evil eye. Partly, at least, for euphemistic reasons the name was afterwards changed to Khudā-Banda ('Slave of God,' the Arabic 'Abdallāh), the Il-Khān's full title being Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Khudā-Banda Öljeitü Sulṭān." See S. S. Blair, "Coins of the later Ilkhanids: a typological analysis," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26 (1983): pp. 297–8.

77 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 2, pp. 503, l.17 to 507, l.7. The part of Pachymeres's 'encomium' was translated and commented in Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 206–207. Here I offer a fuller translation.

78 Pachymeres mentioned only the gold coinage reform of the Ilkhan Ghazan. Meanwhile, the new silver coin standard imposed by Ghazan was much more important, as silver was the chief currency in the Ilkhanid state. But Byzantium under Andronikos II suffered from disastrous debasement of gold coinage, the backbone of the well-being of the Byzantine economy. Hence, Pachymeres's attention was confined to the gold coinage reforms in the Ilkhanid state. His text is full of hidden *Kaiserkritik*. On the debasement under Andronikos II, see: C. Morrisson, J.-N. Barrandon, and S. Bendall, "Proton Activation and X-Ray Fluorescence Analysis: An Application to the Study of the Alloy of Nicaean and Palaeologan Hyperpyra Issues," in *Metallurgy in Numismatics*, eds. W. A. Oddy and M. Archibald (London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1980–1998), vol. 2, p. 25; *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and Whittemore Collection*, vol. 5: *Michael VIII to Constantin XI, 1258–1453*, eds. A. R. Bellinger and Ph. Grierson (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1966–1999) pp. 44–45; A. Kontogiannopoulou, *Ē esōterikē politikē tou Andronikou B Palaiologou* (*1282–1328*). *Dioikēsē-Oikonomia.* (Thessalonica: Kentron Byzantinōn Ereunōn, 2004), pp. 271–286.

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Macedon (356–323 BC). The allusion to the latter made Ghazan look akin to the Byzantine Emperor.

To understand the background, one should recall that the traditional address to the Byzantine emperors on the part of the Muslim sovereigns was the title 'heir of Alexander the Great'.[79] In the *History of the Franks*, Rashīd al-Dīn named the Byzantine emperor as *pādishāh* and *paṭrīk-i Mākadunīyā* ('patrikios of Macedonia'), with a clear allusion to the famous kings of Macedonia.[80] This was not just a literary cliché. In the post-Ilkhanid chancery textbook, the *Dastūr al-kātib* by Nakhchiwānī (d. after 1366), one can find the formula of the letters addressed to the king of Cilician Armenia. In reality, however, Nakhchiwānī meant not only the *takfūr* of Sīs (the king of Sis, the capital of Cilician Armenia), but the whole community of the Christian rulers, with whom the Ilkhans were in correspondence. The traditional titles of the Byzantine emperors were mentioned in the first instance: *pādishāh* and *fāsilīyūs-i aʿẓam* (which is the Persian translation of the 'grand emperor, basileus,' ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς); the most grandiloquent, however, was the statement 'the most honorable Faylaqūs, the pride of the dynasty of Iskandar, the protector for the community of the Messiah.'[81] This 'Iskandar' is an Oriental form of the name of Alexander the Great, whilst 'Faylaqūs' refers to Alexander's father, Philip II of Macedon (359–336 BC). The title *fāsilīyūs* and the clause 'the protector for the community of the Messiah' could have been applied only to the Byzantine emperor.[82]

The attempt on the part of Pachymeres to represent the Ilkhan Ghazan as a mighty Persian *shāh* inevitably distorted the historical accuracy of his narrative. Not only did he overlook the religious transformation of the Ilkhanid state at the end of the thirteenth century, but he also came to the wrong conclusion concerning the superiority of the branch of Hülegü over that of Jochi inside the Chinggisid dynasty. The story about Toqta, the nephew and heir apparent of Ghazan, was almost entirely fictitious, though the conspiracy of the 'Mazdakites' and the prince Ala-Fireng (Alāfrank), the elder son of Gaikhatu (1291–1295) and Ghazan's cousin, at the end of 1303, shortly before Ghazan's

79 Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, pp. 206, l.28 to 207, l.8; *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court*, pp. 150–51, 356–57.

80 RD/Jahn, p. 8 (Persian text), pp. 21–22.

81 Muḥammad ibn Hindūshāh Nakhchiwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib*, ed. by A. A. ʿAli-zade (Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaja redakcija vostočnoj literatury, 1964–1976), vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 391; *idem*, MS Fatih 3762, fol. 104a: "One should write to the Christians (*ʿisawiẏyān*), [namely] the *takfur* of Sis, Georgians, Nazarenes, Armenians, and the Franks: '*Takfūr-i Sīs*, who is the *padishah* of that community. The great emperor (*fāsilīyūs*), the most honourable Faylaqūs, the pride of the dynasty of Iskandar, the protector for the community of the Messiah' …"

82 Korobeinikov, "Diplomatic correspondence," pp. 57–66.

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death, might have served as a source. As we know, Ala-Fireng was pardoned and, according to some manuscripts of Rashīd al-Dīn, sent to Khurāsān to Öljeitü; he was executed on 30 May 1304, soon after Öljeitü's enthronement.[83] However, there was only one Toqtā mentioned throughout the pages of Pachymeres's *History*, and he was Toqta, the Khan of the Golden Horde, the son-in-law of Andronikos II. Pachymeres considered him to have been successor to Noghai, and, like Noghai, Toqta in Pachymeres was never called Khan.[84] To name him an heir to the throne in Tabrīz, disregarding all the animosity between the Khans of the Golden Horde and the Ilkhans and their struggle over Azerbaijan, was a mistake. However, this mistake was impossible without an assumption on the part of Pachymeres that the Ilkhans were the refined rulers of Persia and that the Khans of the Golden Horde were just the inferior 'Scythians.'

What lies behind the unusual Byzantine reverence towards the Ilkhans? Was that just a recognition of the cultural prestige of Iran, or were there closer political ties that served as a springboard for Pachymeres's laudatory prose? Before Gregoras, the descriptions of the Mongols in the Byzantine primary sources were not so 'archaizing' as they should have been and, moreover, these closely reflected the political circumstances.

After the battle at Sultanhanı (Aq Saray) in 1256 both Michael Palaiologos and ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II fled to the Nicaean territory, though their routes were separate. When ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II was still in Nicaea during the winter-spring of 1256–7, a Mongol embassy, sent by Hülegü, arrived. Emperor Theodore II managed to use the embassy to the Nicaean profit, and henceforth the project of a marriage between the Ilkhan and the Byzantine ruling dynasty was in the air. It was the new Emperor, Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282), the participant of the Sultanhanı battle, who finally concluded the marriage. Towards the end of 1264–beginning of 1265 his illegitimate daughter Maria, the future Lady of the Mongols, went to marry the Ilkhan Abaqa, since Hülegü died without having seen his bride. She was accompanied by three high-ranking

83 RD/Karīmī, vol. 2, pp. 958–59; RD/RM, vol. 2, pp. 1318–19, vol. 3, p. 1959; RD/Arends, pp. 198–99; RD/Thackston, p. 659; Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns," pp. 396–98; A. Bausani, "Religion under the Mongols," in *CHI*, vol. 5: *Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 548–9; D. O. Morgan, "Alafrank," *EIr*, vol. 1, fasc. 7–8, pp. 784–785; updated version on line at: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/alafrank-the-eldest-son-of-the-il-khan-geikatu-r-1291-95 (accessed May 17, 2014).

84 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 2, pp. 9, l.9, 291, ll.1–14, 295, ll.10–21, 601, ll.16–20, 603, ll.29–31, 627, ll.17–22; *PLP*, N 29149, 92632 (Maria, illegitimate daughter of Andronikos II and wife of Toqtā from 1297).

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prelates: Euthymios (1258–1273), the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, Sarghis, the Armenian bishop of Erzincan and Theodosios Villehardouin, the archimandrite of the monastery of Pantokrator and later successor to Euthymios as Patriarch of Antioch (1273–1283/84). She took with herself a special luxurious tent that served as a church-building. All the primary sources noted the exceptional opulence of her arrival.[85]

According to Vardan the Great, "there was brought from Greece for Apaghay a wife called Despina, daughter of the king whom they call Vatatzes. She ordered that Apaghay be baptized, and then she would accept him. So the report went out that he was baptized and then married her, to the glory of Christ."[86] Be that as it may, but the Ilkhanid coinage with the Christian formula "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, One God" was struck in Georgia, the country of the same faith as Maria Palaiologina's, under Abaqa and the Ilkhans after him until Ghazan.[87] Maria had to build the church in Tabriz and for this she brought along two church painters from Constantinople; later one of them was employed by Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286), the famous chronicler and the *maphrian* of the Syriac Orthodox Church, in reconstruction of the church of St. Yōḥannān (John) Bar Naggāre in the village Bā Agrē near Barṭelli east of Nineveh in 1284–85; the church building was still extant in 1593.[88] It is traditionally believed that Maria must have left Tabriz for Constantinople after the

85 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 1, p. 235, ll.11–21; PLP, N 21395; Gregorios Bar ʿEbrāyā (Gregorius Barhebræus), *Ktābā d-maktbānut zabnē: Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon syriacum: e codd. mss. emendatum ac punctis vocalibus adnotationibusque locupletatum*, ed. P. Bedjan (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1890), pp. 521–22; Gregory Abû'l Faraj, commonly known as BH/Budge, vol. 1, p. 445; Kirakos Gandzakets'i, *Patmut'yun Hayots,'* ed. K. A. Melik'-Ōhanjanyan (Erevan: Haykakan SSR Gitut'yunneri Akademiayi Hratarkch'ut'yun, 1961), p. 399; *idem*, *History of the Armenians*, tr. R. Bedrosian (New York: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 1986), p. 335; Kirakos Gandzakeci, *Istorija Armenii*, trans. L. A. Xanlarjan (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), p. 238. He was the same bishop Sarghis, who later was murdered by the Mongol commander Bishar in 1280. On him, see: Gregorius Barhebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. and trans. J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy (Paris: Louvain, 1872–77), vol. 2, cols. 731–734 (1259). Cf. G. Fedalto, "Le liste patriarcali delle sedi orientali fino al 1453," *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 1 (1981): p. 183; D. Korobeinikov, "Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the 13th–14th centuries. Part 2: The Time of Troubles," *Al-Masāq* 17 (2005): pp. 3–4.

86 [Vardan Arewelc'i], "Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i," trans. R. W. Thomson, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989): p. 222; Vardan Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean* (New York: Delmar, 1991), p. 161. Abaqa's baptism was also mentioned by Kirakos Gandzakets'i (see the note *supra*).

87 Sejfeddini, *Monety il'xanov XIV veka*, pp. 46–7.

88 BH/Budge, vol. 1, p. xxvii; Barhebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, vol. 3, cols. 461–64; J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne: contribution à l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclésiastiques et monastiques du nord de l'Iraq* (Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1965), vol. 2,

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death of her husband, the Ilkhan Abaqa, in 1282.[89] However, there is the evidence of Stephan Orbelian (d. 1304), who wrote about the unfortunate Ilkhan Baidu (1295), who briefly reigned between Gaikhatu and Ghazan:

> [Baidu] had been a Christian, but was deceived by his military commanders and became a Muslim. He ruled his kingdom until autumn in a weak and poor fashion, unworthy of a man. It was he who sent Jalal, Tarsayich's son,[90] with some Mongols to the great see of the Aghuans, Amaras, which in ancient times had been the seat of their *kat'oghikos*.[91] [Baidu] had brought to him the scepter of the blessed Grigoris, son of Vardan, son of Saint Gregory the Illuminator. [Grigor's] grave was located there and, consequently, his scepter was kept in the same church. Along with this, [the Mongols] also took the wondrous holy cross, which had been there since ancient times, made of pure gold and adorned with 36 precious stones. This was betrayed [to the Mongols] by an infamous and senseless priest from that same diocese. Now it came about that Despina, the daughter of the Greek emperor, was located there. She had been sent to marry Abagha-Khan, and she had raised Baidu like her own son.[92] With great entreaties she requested that cross and scepter and sent them to the royal city of Constantinople. And so it happened that the land of the Aghuans was deprived of these precious and divine treasures.[93]

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pp. 433–35; H. Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013), pp. 25–27.

89 S. Runciman, "Ladies of the Mongols," in *Eis mnēmēn K. Amantou* (*1874–1960*) (Athens: Mēnas Myrtidēs, 1960), pp. 48–53. See also *supra*, notes 6 and 8.

90 The princes of Siwnik' of the Orbelian dynasty.

91 The monastery of Amaras was the seat of the Armeno-Albanian katholikoses until c. 1238, when the seat was moved to Ganjasar. As such, Amaras was on the lands of the principality of K't'ish-Baghk,' which was incorporated into the Arts'akh-Khachēn kingdom by Prince Hasan II Jalal Dawla (post 1214–1261), the 'King of Albania.' The monastery is still extant and now located in the province of Martuni in Karabakh. R. H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), maps 87, 94, 263.

92 Orbelian used here the Past Perfect tense construction. This means that her marriage to Abaqa had taken place long ago before the events in question.

93 Orbēlean, *Patmut'iwn nahangin Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 218; *idem*, *History of the State of Sisakan*, p. 238; cf. Stépannos Orbélian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, trans. M. F. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1864), vol. 1, p. 260. I follow the translation of Bedrosian with one important modification. The difference is in the statement "She had been sent to marry Abagha-Khan, and she had raised Baidu like her own son," which Bedrosian translates as "She had been sent as a wife for Abagha-Khan, who had raised her for his adopted son, Baidu." That hardly makes sense, as Baidu was just one year old when Maria had arrived; he was nephew of Abaqa, so why then should he be Abaqa's adopted son? The text reads: Էւ զի էր անդ դուստր կայսերն Յունաց Դեսպինա անուն, որ ածեալ էր ի կնութիւն Ապաղայ ղանին.

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The evidence of Orbelian is supported by Bar Hebraeus, who wrote that "because Baydu had been acquainted for long years with Dhisbinā,[94] the daughter of the king of the Greeks, who was the wife of ʾAbāqā, he was favourably disposed towards the Christians."[95] If we take the evidence of Orbelian *prima facie*, we then must conclude that her departure for Constantinople had taken place during the struggle between Baidu and Ghazan in March–September 1295, if not later. Had she been in Constantinople during Baidu's short reign, it would be almost impossible, given the travel distance and the difficulty of the route between Byzantium and the Ilkhanid state, to inform her about the Amaras relics in the remote area in Karabakh, then to receive her 'great entreaties' in Tabrīz, and afterwards to send the cross and the scepter to her at the time of the dynastic war. She most certainly left Tabrīz shortly before her protégé Baidu had been executed on 23 Dhū al-Qaʿda AH 694 (4 October 1295).[96] Maria and Abaqa's daughter Theodora Arakhantloun (Ἀραχαντλοῦν) must have followed her. When in Constantinople, Theodora married the *panhypersebastos* Isaac Palaiologos Asen, son of Tsar John III Asen (1279–1280) of Bulgaria and Eirene, sister of Andronikos II.[97]

The Lady of the Mongols' departure for Constantinople took place when the Ilkhanid state finally became Muslim. However, the fall of Baidu had no consequences for the Byzantine-Ilkhanid relations. In December 1302, Andronikos II, who faced a disastrous military situation in the eastern provinces of the empire,

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եւ սնուցեալ էր իւր յորդեգիրս զԲայտուն: Patkanov first suggested that the text was somewhat corrupted. I thus correct: եւ սնուցեալ էր յիւր որդեգիրս զԲայտուն, which corresponds to the expression սնոյց զնա յիւր որդեգիրս, 'he/she nursed him like his/her own son,' see M. Bedrossian, *New Dictionary Armenian-English* (Venice: Lazarus, 1879), p. 368. Here, I follow the translation of Patkanov (though I cannot follow his unreasonably free interpretation of the verb tense consistency): K. P. Patkanov, *Istorija mongolov po armjanskim istočnikam* (1873–74; rpt. Ann Arbor, 1980), vol. 1, p. 57: "В то время находилась в тех местах *Деспина*, дочь греческого императора, прибывшая туда для вступления в брак с Абака-ханом, и воспитавшая Байто как своего сына."

94 So in: Bar Hebraeus, MS Bodleian Library, Hunt 1, fol. 556, col. A.

95 Bar ʿEbrāyā, *Ktābā*, p. 593; BH/Budge, vol. 1, p. 505. Cf. [Hethum of Korykos]. *Die Geschichte der Mongolen des Hethum von Korykos (1307) in der Rückübersetzung durch Jean le Long, 'Traitiez des estas et des conditions de quatorze royaumes de Aise' (1351), mit parallelem Abdruck des lateinischen Manuskripts Wrocław, Biblioteka Universytecka, R 262*, ed. S. Dörper. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), pp. 301–2; MP/Yule, vol. 2, p. 407.

96 On Baydu, see B. Spuler, "Bāydū," *EIr*, vol. 3, fasc. 8, pp. 887–888, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/baydu-baidu-on-coins-badu-a-son-of-taragay-and-grandson-of-hleg-hulagu-reigned-as-il-khan-in-iran-from-joma (accessed April 6, 2015).

97 Hunger et al. *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, vol. 3, pp. 68–70, ll.53–70; *PLP*, N 1229, 1494. Theodora's name *Arakhantloun* must have been a contraction from the *ari'ūn khātūn*, 'a pious lady,' cf. N. N. Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovar' 'Mukaddimat al-adab'* (Moscow and Leningrad: Academy of Sciences Press, 1938), p. 105.

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attacked by the nomad Turks, sent an embassy to Ghazan, offering him a marriage alliance. Pachymeres stated that the proposed bride's "father was thought to be the emperor himself";[98] Rashīd al-Dīn added that the emperor promised to "send his daughter [to Ghazan] into service as a concubine."[99] Lippard offered an elegant solution as to how one should explain the awkward statement in Pachymeres. He cited a piece from John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–1354), who wrote:

> [The Scythians from the utter part of the extreme north (τὸ δὲ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων Σκυθικόν)] were made particularly tractable and friendly towards the Romans by being given brides from among the imperial family, and so by connection with the emperor of the Romans they thought that they would become the successors of Alexander of Macedon and the emperor of Persia. So, maidens of exceptional beauty, not only of aristocracy but also of lowly origin, were brought up in the imperial palace like the princesses, and as the need arose were betrothed to the satraps of the Scythians.[100]

Lippard called it, not without a touch of humour, 'an imperial adoption agency.'[101] Despite the mention of Alexander the Great and the 'emperor of Persia' (it seems that Kantakouzenos was well aware of the text of Pachymeres), John VI's narrative was primarily focused on the Mongols of the Golden Horde, the 'ex Hyperborean Scythians.' However, the marriage between Maria and Abaqa was exceptional in the Byzantine diplomatic practice. She was by no means a product of the 'adoption agency.' Maria, with her undoubtedly illustrious pedigree, was wife, not a concubine, of Abaqa; and despite having been born outside marriage, she nonetheless was recognized as a very noble and respected person. For example, when the *amīr* Osman, the founder of the Ottoman emirate, attacked Nicaea in 1307, it was the *despoina* Maria who

98 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 2, p. 441, ll.15–28.

99 RD/Karīmī, vol. 2, p. 951; RD/RM, vol. 2, p. 1308; RD/Arends, pp. 192–193; RD/Thackston, p. 654.

100 Ioannes Cantacuzenus, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri iv*, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn: Weber, 1828–1832), vol. 1, p. 188, ll.10–18. I follow, with slight modifications, the translation of A. A. M. Bryer (with Lippard's corrections): A. A. M. Bryer, "Greek Historians on the Turks: The Case of the First Byzantine-Ottoman marriage," in R. Davis and J. Wallace-Hadrill, eds., *Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to R. W. Southern* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 481; Lippard, *Mongols and Byzantium*, p. 219.

101 Lippard, *Mongols and Byzantium*, p. 219.

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moved with her court to Nicaea and 'with tremendous spirit[102] dealt with Osman' by just threatening to send the mission to the Ilkhan Öljeitü asking for help.[103] Because of the respect she enjoyed in Byzantium, Asia Minor and the Ilkhanid state, she managed to save Nicaea.

No title of hers was an exaggeration. Even the expression 'empress of the whole Orient' (var. 'of all the East'), ἡ τῆς Ἑῴας βασιλὶς τῆς ἁπάσης, had some justifications in that, first, the notion of the Byzantine 'Orient' included, but did not go beyond, Transoxiana, and, secondly, it coincided with the territorial span of the Greek Orthodox (Melkite) Patriarchate of Antioch, whose prelate enjoyed the title *al-baṭrik al-Anṭākiyya wa-Sā'ir al-Mashriq* ('Patriarch of Antioch and all the East')[104] and whose easternmost diocese was the Catholicosate of Rhomagyris/Rhomogyris (Shāsh, near Almalīq in the Central Asia, south of Otrār, north of Khujand), still extant in 1365.[105] Tabrīz, the capital city of the Ilkhans and the residence of Maria for so many years, was an important episcopal see, the twelfth in sequence, of the Patriarchate.[106] Her title suggested that she was a secular protector of the numerous Melkite communities in the Ilkhanid state. One can even suppose some rivalry between her and the emperors of Trebizond, the subordinates of the Ilkhans and the 'autocrats of all Anatolia/the Orient' from 1282 (given the fact of the uneasy relations between Constantinople and the Empire of the Grand Komnenoi in the

102 Failler translated the expression ἐξ ὑπερτέρου φρονήματος as 'avec une extrême arrogance.'

103 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 2, pp. 683, ll.6–11, 701, l.17 to 703, l.6.

104 Cf. the signature of Makarios, Patriarch of Antioch in 1641–1688, in *Act of the Council of Moscow concerning the deposition of the Patriarch Nikon*, MS State Historical Museum, Greek gr. 521, facsimile published in *International Conference "Crete, East Mediterranean and Russia in the Seventeenth Century." Catalogue of the exhibition "Greek documents and manuscripts, icons and applied art objects from Moscow depositories,"* ed. B. Fonkich (Moscow: Indrik, 1995), p. 70. Cf. also the Greek titles of the Patriarch of Antioch in the twelfth century: 'primate of the whole of Asia and the Orient (ἅπασαν τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἀνατολήν), of India, of the catholicosate of Rhomogyris (Ῥωμογύρεως), Persia, Babylon (Baghdad, τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Βαγδᾶ), Armenia, Abkhazia (Ἀβασγίαν), Iberia (Georgia, Ἰβηρίαν), Media (Μηδίαν), of the countries of the Chaldeans, Parthians, Elamites, and of Mesopotamia'. G. Parthey (ed.), *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatuum. Accedunt Nili Doxapatrii Notitia Patriarchatuum et locorum nomina immutata* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967), pp. 271–72, ll.57–67.

105 This Almalīq should not be confused with that near modern Ghulja (Yining) along the Xinjiang-Kazakhstan border. Rather it is south of modern Tashkent; see H. Kennedy, ed., *An Historical Atlas of Islam/Atlas historique de l'Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), maps 41a and 42a.

106 D. Korobeinikov, "Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. Part 1: The Two Patriarchates: Constantinople and Antioch," *Al-Masāq* 15 (2003): pp. 203–5; *idem*, "Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the 13th–14th centuries. Part 2: The Time of Troubles," pp. 2–3.

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thirteenth century).[107] Her mosaic in the church of the Holy Savior in Chora, with Christ looking at her, and not at *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos, the forefather of the emperors of Trebizond, must have contained some anti-Grand Komnenean allusions. After all, both Maria and Isaac were representatives of the rival branches of one and the same dynasty.

Rashīd al-Dīn mentioned our Maria as 'Daspina-Khātūn, daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople' and Abaqa's sixth wife.[108] Though her title *despoina* served as a name,[109] the expression *daspina-khātūn* was by nature a title, a vivid combination of the Byzantine and Mongol traditions. Andronikos II did not have enough time to send his 'daughter' as a concubine to Ghazan. However, Maria, who acted on her consanguine brother's orders, nonetheless managed to conclude a matrimonial alliance with Öljeitü. I do not think that the Byzantine lady, the new wife of the Ilkhan, was the same concubine mentioned in 1302. According to Qāshānī, a certain *Tesbina-khātūn, dukhtar-i qayṣar-i Qusṭanṭiniyya* ('*despoina-khātūn*, daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople') was the twelfth wife of the Ilkhan.[110] The new bride received the same unique title as Maria Palaiologina before her. To understand the context, one should recall that no Byzantine wife of the Khans of the Golden Horde was called *despoina*.[111] It is interesting that the legacy of Maria

107 See *supra*, notes 41 and 43.

108 RD/Karīmī, vol. 2, p. 740; RD/RM, vol. 2, p. 1056, vol. 3, p. 1883; RD/Arends, p. 65; RD/Thackston, p. 515.

109 Kirakos Gandzakets'i/Melik'-Ōhanjanyan, p. 399; Orbēlean, *Patmut'iwn nahangin Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 218.

110 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 2, pp. 683, ll.6–11; Qāshānī/Hambly, p. 8.

111 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, vol. 1, p. 243, ll.3–10 ii, p. 295, ll.10–21. The famous Bayalūn (d. after 1341), the daughter of Andronikos III (1328–1341) and wife of Özbeg Khan (1313–1341) of the Golden Horde, was called *malika* ('queen, empress') by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. She was simultaneously called 'the daughter of the emperor and the wife of the Scythian' by Gregory Akindynos, thus without any honorific Byzantine title. The doubts of Runciman and Shukurov (that Bayalūn was indeed a daughter of Andronikos III and his wife, as her circumstances hardly correspond with the latter's lifetime chronology and the list of his children) can be cleared up if one follows Lippard's theory that she actually was an *adopted* daughter of the imperial couple. Otherwise, one should follow Shukurov's suggestion that Bayalūn was identical to Maria Palaiologina, wife of Toqtā and illegitimate daughter of Andronikos II; according to the Arab sources, Bayalūn, before being married to Özbeg, was wife of Toghrılcha, Özbeg's father and brother of the Khan Toqta. However, Akindynos mentioned her in 1341 as the daughter of the *living* emperor, thus undoubtedly Andronikos III, whose grandfather Andronikos II died long ago in 1332. V. Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosjaščixsja k istorii Zolotoj Ordy* vol. 1 (Moscow: Press of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1941), c. 316, 371, 486 (c. 323, 384, 515 of the Russian translation); *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 2, pp. 393–94, 413–14, 429; *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, Greek text and English trans. A. C. Hero (Washington: Dumbarton

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Palaiologina, the scion of the Batatzes and the Komnenoi dynasties, outlived her in the Empire of Trebizond, which created the chain of the alliances with the petty Muslim emirates along the Empire's southern border in the fourteenth century.[112] Maria, sister of the emperor Alexios III (1349–1390) of Trebizond, married Qutlū Beg of the Aq-qoyunlu (c. 1360–1389) in 1352.[113] She received the same title *despoina-khātūn* just as had the Byzantine wives of the Ilkhans before her.[114] It may be that the powerful Theodora Grand Komnena, the *ulu hatun* ('chief wife') of Uzun Hasan of the Aq-qoyunlu (1457–1478), also enjoyed the title *despoina-khātūn*.[115]

The description of the Ilkhans in Pachymeres and the circumstances of Maria Palaiologina, the wife of Abaqa, were rooted in one person – Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, the architect of the new Byzantine policy in the Orient, who with his own eyes saw the Mongols in the battle near Sultanhanı on 16 October 1256. Only after the generation of Michael VIII and his children passed away did Gregoras manage to create a more balanced account concerning the Mongols as just the ordinary 'Scythians.' But the narratives before him (and the titles of Maria) clearly demonstrate the high prestige of the Ilkhanid dynasty in the Byzantine eyes – higher than that of the descendants of Jochi in the Golden Horde.

That attitude outlived Byzantium. In the Ottoman genealogical roll (MS Marsh 196 = MS Or. long C.242), now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, one can find a genealogy of the Ottomans, from the ancient Turkic khans until Süleymān II Qānūnī (1520–1566) and his son Selim II (1566–1574). The roll carefully lists the predecessors of the Ottomans, both political and dynastic, throughout the course of the World History, as it was represented in the Muslim historical tradition. Though the roll mentions both Byzantium and the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm, it fails to recognize them as immediate predecessors of the Ottoman Empire. The Ilkhanid state was the 'political ancestor' of the

Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1983), letter 12, pp. 56–57, 331–332; Runciman, "Ladies of the Mongols," pp. 47–8; R. Shukurov, "Harem Christianity: the Byzantine identity of the Seljuk princes," in *Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, eds. A. C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), pp. 122, 142–3; Lippard, *Mongols and Byzantium*, pp. 216–20.

112 R. Shukurov, "Between Peace and Hostility: Trebizond and the Pontic Turkish Periphery in the Fourteenth Century," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9, N 1 (1994): pp. 20–72.

113 Karpov, *Istorija Trapezundskoj imperii*, p. 387; Shukurov, "Between Peace and Hostility," pp. 54–61; Šukurov, *Velikie Komniny i Vostok*, pp. 239–40, 370.

114 "Mikhaēl tou Panaretou peri tōn Megalōn Komnēnōn," ed. O. Lampsides, *Archeion Pontou* 22 (1958): pp. 72, ll.26–8, 76, ll.1–6; A. A. M. Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens: the Pontic Exception," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975): pp. 144, 146.

115 Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens," p. 150, note 146.

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Ottomans. According to this scheme, the position of Hülegü and his successors was higher than the one of Batu and the Khans of the Golden Horde. Again, the context: the early Ottoman historians, who remembered the hardships of the Mongol power in Asia Minor, avoided any positive mention of the Ilkhans. Ahmedi (fl. 1410), whose poem *Iskendername* was one of the most influential achievements of the Ottoman historical tradition,[116] wrote:

> What were they like, those Mongol sultans? Come, listen to their story.
> They did not openly tyrannize the people [the Muslims] as Chinggis Khān did.
> They tyrannized through the law, they did not stain their hand with blood.
> Tyranny, when it comes in the guise of law and order, is easily mistaken by the people for justice …
> Now that we have recounted the story of those matters of cruelty, let us tell of the masters of justice [the Ottomans].
> Let us celebrate those rulers who were both Muslim and just.[117]

Meḥmed Neşri (fl. in the 1490s), who created the first 'World History' of the Ottomans, which he called *Kitâb-i Cihân-nümâ*, simply excluded the Ilkhans from the list of the Ottoman predecessors.[118] And yet the Ilkhans emerged victorious again in MS Marsh 196. Was it because of the Byzantine influence? I cannot say, though I should not exclude such possibility. At least, it was the Ottoman sultans who used as their royal titles the Byzantine title *qayṣar al-Rūm*, 'the caesar of the Romans' and the Mongol title *khaqan* thus uniting together both traditions.[119] It seems that the high political and cultural prestige

116 Ahmedi's poetic version was followed by Shükrullah Zaki (1456–1459), Karamani Mehmed-pasa, Mehmed Konevi (both Mehmeds worked around 1480) and Ruhi, who wrote in the 1490s. Cf. V. L. Ménage, *Neshri's History of the Ottomans* (*the Sources and Development of the Text*) (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. xiv–xv; H. İnalcik, "Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 155, 159–167.

117 Ahmedi, "Dâstân ve tevârîh-i mulûk-i âl-i Osmân," in N. Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihleri* (Istanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1949), p. 6. I follow the translation of L. P. Pierce, *Imperial Harem. Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 159.

118 His historical sections were as follows: Mehmed Neşri, *Kitāb-ı Cihān-nümā* (*Neşrī Tarihi*), ed. F. R. Unat, M. A. Köymen (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 8–21: *Evlâd-ı Oğuz Han*; pp. 22–53: *Selçuklular*; p. 54 ff: the Ottomans.

119 D. A. Korobeinikov, "How 'Byzantine' were the Early Ottomans? Bithynia in ca. 1290–1450," in *Osmanskij mir i osmanistika*, ed. I. V. Zajcev and S. F. Oreškova (Moscow: Oriental Institute of the RAS, 2010), p. 239.

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of Persia that the Ilkhans ruled, their laws and their reforms, had earned them the reputation which allowed the Byzantines, and later the Ottomans, to see them as the most powerful and respected rulers of the Mongol *orbis terrarum*.

Appendix

№	***Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, eds. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1978)**	**Skoutariotes, *Synopsis khronikē*, in *Mesaiōnikē Bibliothēkē*, ed. K. N. Sathas, vol. 7 (Venice, 1894), pp. 1–556**
1	§35, p. 53, l.23: τῶν Τατάρων (Mongols of Batu)	p. 480, l.13: τῶν Ἀτάρων
2	§40, p. 67, l.1–2: τῶν Ταχαρίων ἔθνος (henceforth the Mongols of Iran)	p. 488, l.6: τῶν Ἀταρίων ἔθνος
3	§41, p. 68, l.20–21: παρὰ τῶν Ταχαρίων	p. 489, l.11: ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀταρίων
4	§41, p. 69, l.9: μάχης Ταχαρικῆς	p. 489, l.16–17: μάχης Ἀταρικῆς
5	§41 p. 69, l.14–15: τῶν Μουσουλμάνων παρὰ τῶν Ταχαρίων ἀπολωλότος	Missing, p. 498, l.20–21: τῶν γὰρ Μουσουλμάνων ἀπολωλότων
6	§41, p. 70, l.10: ἡ τῶν Ταχάρων στρατιά	p. 490, l.4: τῶν Ἀταρίων στρατιά
7	§42, p. 71, l.15: τῶν Ταχαρίων γένος	p. 490, l.22: οἱ γὰρ Ἄταροι
8	§59, p. 119, l.1: πρὸς τῶν Ταχαρίων	p. 518, l.24: πρὸς τῶν Ἀτάρων
9	§61, p. 125, l.9: παρὰ τῶν Ταχαρίων	p. 522, l.11: παρὰ τῶν Ἀταρίων
10	§65, p. 136, l.16: ἐκ τῶν Ταχαρίων	p. 528, l.4–5: παρὰ τῶν ἐπελθόντων Ἀταρίων
11	§65, p. 137, l.10: οἵ τε γὰρ Ταχάριοι	p. 528, l.6: οἱ Ἄταροι
12	§65, p. 137, l.12–13: τοῖς Ταχαρίοις	Missing, p. 528, l.8: τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
13	§65, p. 137, l.21: τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους… Ταχαρίους	Missing, p. 528, l.13: τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους…
14	§65, p. 137, l.26: ἐκνενικημένοι οἱ Ταχάριοι	p. 528, l.15: νενικημένοι οἱ Ἄταροι
15	§65, p. 138, l.5: τοῖς Ταχαρίοις	p. 528, l.18: τοῖς Ἀταρίοις
16	§65, p. 138, l.8: τῶν Ταχαρίων	Missing
17	§65, p. 138, l.16–17: τὸ Ταχαρίων γένος	p. 528, l.26: τὸ δὲ Ἀτάρων γένος
18	§69, p. 144, l.16: τοῖς Ταχαρίοις	p. 531, l.11: τοῖς Ἀταρίοις
19	§69, p. 144, l.17–18: τοῖς Ταχαρίοις	p. 531, l.14: παρὰ τῶν Ἀτάρων
20	§76, p. 157, l.12–13: τῶν ἐπερχομένων κατὰ Περσῶν Ταχαρίων	p. 538, l.8: τῶν ἐπελθόντων κατὰ Περσῶν Ἀταρίων

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